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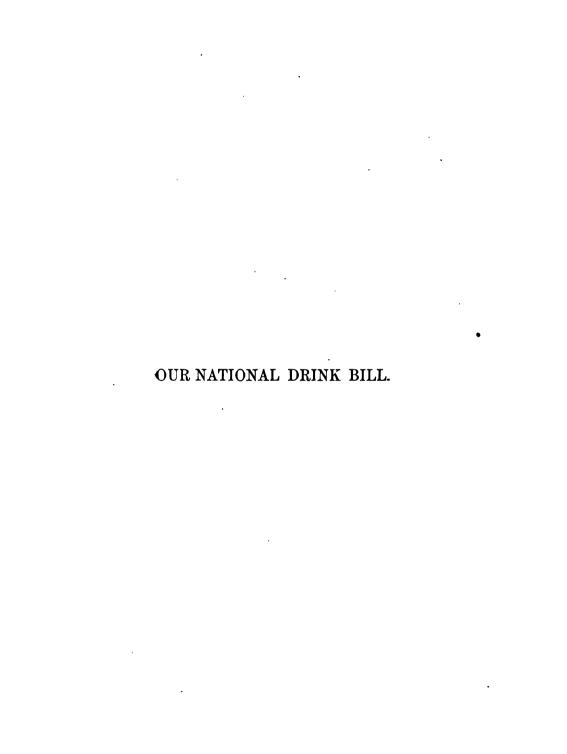
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N.B. Mr. Moss, born at North Tawton, Devon, became one of the outstanding Temperance workers of the 19th—20th Centuries. On 1st September, 1888 he was appointed Missioner to Mrs. LEWIS, Blackburn (The Drunkards' Friend). More than 50 years' loyal service won universal esteem. Inspired by Joseph Livesey's work, his life has been characterised by complete devotion to the cause founded by the Preston Pioneer. This is, in part, indicated by the diligence which made possible this collection, and Mr. Moss's generous gift, so that others might share in it.





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OUR

NATIONAL DRINK BILL

AS IT AFFECTS

THE NATION'S WELL-BEING

A SERIES OF LETTERS TO THE "TIMES" AND OTHER
NEWSPAPERS
TOGETHER WITH ORIGINAL ARTICLES

WILLIAM HOYLE

AUTHOR OF "OUR NATIONAL RESOURCES AND HOW THEY ARE WASTED," &C.

GLASGOW: JAMES HAMILTON, 182 TRONGATE

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NATIONAL TEMPERANCE PUBLICATION DEPOT

337 STRAND, W.C.

1884





PREFACE

THE letters which are found in the following pages are selected from contributions which have appeared in the public press during the past seven or eight years.

The letters bear almost entirely upon the statistical, economical, and commercial aspect of the temperance question, with occasional references to its historical, physical, or moral aspect.

In selecting them the writer has sought to include only such as were likely to be, not only of immediate, but of permanent value.

In the concluding chapter the legislative obligations which are the logical outcome of the facts and arguments of the book are discussed.

The statistics given are almost wholly taken from Government Returns. In those cases where they are not they are taken from the best authorities.

The reader will probably notice that sometimes statistics are repeated. Wherever this is the case it is done to illustrate some fresh argument or fact, with a view to make the argument more widely applicable and the book more extensively useful.

In conclusion, the writer would remark that though the main of the figures given in the following pages have appeared in many of the newspapers of the day, he is not aware that there has ever been any serious attempt to controvert their truth.

WILLIAM HOYLE.

CLAREMONT, BURY, LANCASHIRE, January 1st, 1884.

CONTENTS.

								Page
Historic	Retrospect	, -	•	-	•	-	-	1
Drink B	ill Letter fo	r Year	1876,	•	•	•	•	12
,,	,,	,,	1877,	•	-	•	•	16
,,	,,	,,	1878,	-	-	•	•	18
,,	,,	,,	1879,	•	•	-	•	21
Reply to	Observation	ns on	Drink 1	Bill Let	ter for 1	879,		25
,,	Criticisms	of the	"Time	es" on	Do.	-	-	28
Drink B	ill Letter fo	r Year	1880,	•	-	-	•	34
,,	,,	,,	1882,	-	-	•	-	40
Reply to	Criticisms	of "T	imes"	on Drin	k Bill L	etter fo	r 1881,	
Drink B	ill Letter fo	r Year	1882,	-	-		_ `	53
Reply to	Observation	ons on	Letter	for Year	1881.	•		62
	howing the				-	enditur	e on	
	rade,	-	-	-	- 1	-	-	66
Letter S	howing tha	t Mone	y Spen	t on Int	oxicatin	g Lique	or is	
	aste,	-	•	-	•	•	-	70
Do.		Do.		Do.		Do.		73
Letter to	"Times"	on Nat	tional S	obriety	and the	Reven	ıe,	80-
,,	,,	For	eign Tr	ade and	l Home	Trade,	-	84
,,	,•	Ren	nedies f	or Exist	ing Pove	erty, &c	÷., .	92
,,	,,		,,		,,		•	99
,, .	,,		,,		,,		-	110
	the Right	Hon.	W. E.	Gladst	one on	Crime	and	
	auperism,	•	. : .	<i>.</i>				115
	Losses thro	_	_		•		eet-	
	g of the Br						•	132
	" Manche	ster Ex	aminer	and Ti	mes" on	Trade	and	
	auperism,	-	- 41	- T		- :1.:	1	139
	o "Econon auperism,	nist" (on the	increas	e of Dr	ınkıng	and	146
	"Birming	ham D	ailw Dos	t" on D	nnarien	. Crima	- &co	•
	s to Solve :		•		-	ı, Cınne	,,	149
Waste of		- aber	cau a		Ruami,	-	•	159
		Mona		•	•	•	•	178 180
	Spend our	Mone	,, -	•	•	•	•	181
ANCIEL L	CY ISIMLIUII.	•	-	-	-	-	•	101

OUR NATIONAL DRINK BILL.

A RETROSPECT.

THE circumstances which existed fifty years ago, when the Temperance Movement came into life, were peculiar, and they were of a nature calculated to retard the spread of temperance truth. For instance, there was a belief which was virtually universal that intoxicating liquors were not only useful, but absolutely essential to secure health and strength; people thought it was impossible to live without them; these drinks were especially favourites in all festive and social gatherings; and they were everywhere regarded as the national beverages. It will be manifest, therefore, that the work of the temperance reformer must have been most difficult; it was to persuade people to abstain from beverages which they thought they could not live without, beverages that they liked, and which besides being especially fascinating and enslaving, had a prestige of a national character.

And more than this: at that time Parliament came in and increased the delusion by passing the Beer Bill. The cause of its passing that bill was the drunkenness which abounded, and the notion that the drunkenness arose almost exclusively from the use of spirits, and that if people could only have better facilities given for procuring beer, they would cease to use spirits, and thus drunkenness would largely be removed.

The laws of a country have always a mighty influence upon the minds of the people, but the influence becomes all the stronger when it happens to confirm pre-existing It was so in 1830. As I have said, people almost universally believed it to be impossible to live without alcoholic liquors, and vet there was the vice of drunkenness to be dealt with,—a vice which prevailed to a most deplorable extent, and which filled the hearts of all good citizens with sorrow and dread. The problem was how to remedy the evil of drunkenness, and at the same time to make provision for the supposed want, in regard to securing a more available supply of beer. intended to be done by the passing of the Beer Bill, and so, through the operation of that Act the country was flooded with beershops. By this action previous notions were strengthened, temptations to intemperance were largely multiplied, and the number of those who were pecuniarily interested in pushing a traffic which involved the degradation of the country were greatly increased.

And besides this, there was the great financial interest of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The revenue from drink has long been the source of a large portion of the nation's income, and hence it will be seen that when the people believed the drink essential, when there was an inveterate appetite for it, when so many individuals were financially interested in the traffic, when the articles dealt in had the prestige of being national beverages, and when their sale brought so great an income to the National Exchequer, the difficulties to be overcome were almost overwhelming. Some of these difficulties still remain, others have vanished. The notion as to the value or

necessity of these drinks is to a great extent dissipated; and more than this, they are now admitted to be a great source of disease and premature death. We have further arrived at the position that the traffic must be put upon a different footing legislatively; Parliament has endorsed the principle in regard to it that its existence shall have relation to the expressed wish of localities; and the Government have pledged themselves to introduce a bill at the earliest possible time embodying the principle.

To understand rightly the position of matters in 1830 it will be needful to traverse the ground for some few years prior to that date. In 1822 the Malt Tax was reduced from 3s. 71/d. per bushel to 2s. 7d. reduction, along with other influences, led to a slight increase in the consumption of beer, but the main increase was in British spirits. Between 1823 and 1825 the duty on these spirits was reduced from 11s. 81/d. to 7s. 6d. per gallon in England, in Scotland from 6s. 2d. to 2s. 10d., and in Ireland from 5s. 7 1/4 d. to 2s. 10d. This led to a great rise in the consumption of spirits. From the tables published in the report of the Inland Revenue, I find that whilst for the five years ending 1823 the total consumption of British spirits in the United Kingdom was 48,745,815 gals., for the five years ending 1830 the consumption reached 106,763,595 gals., being an increase of more than 120 per cent., whereas the population had only grown 15 per cent.

This enormous increase in spirit-drinking shows to what an extent the action of the legislature influences the habits of the people. In this instance the consumption of spirits was more than doubled by the reduction of

duty. A like result followed the passing of the Beer Bill. For the five years ending 1830 the consumption of malt was 160,992,116 bushels. For the subsequent five years, viz., the five years ending 1835, the consumption rose to 200,756,269, being an increase of nearly 25 per cent. Indeed, the history of the drink-trade throughout all its stages proves how potent are the influences which are exercised by legislation, whether those influences are on the side of intemperance or otherwise.

The benefits which the promoters of the Beer Bilk anticipated from its adoption were not realised. first place the consumption of spirits, instead of decreasing, went on increasing; for whilst for the five years ending 1830 the quantity used was 106,763,595 gallons, for the five years ending 1835 it reached 113,174,584 gallons being an increase of 8 per cent., whilst, as I have shown, beer had also increased 25 per cent., and whilst great evils arose from the increased consumption of spirits, other evils were engendered by the beerhouses pure and simple. So great were those evils, that in 1834 the Beer Act was amended, and the preamble began by reciting, "That much evil had arisen from the management and conduct of houses in which beer and cider are sold by retail," and the evidence which was afterwards given before the committee, of which Lord Harrowby was chairman, proves how baneful was the Beer Act in increasing the crime of the country.

I have already pointed out that during the period prior to 1830 there was a considerable increase in the consumption of spirits and beer, but, notwithstanding this, after the passing of the Beer Bill the increase went on The extent of this will be seen from the fact that whilst

the money spent upon intoxicating liquors in the United Kingdom during the ten years ending 1829 reached £588,903,924, or in round numbers, £59,000,000 yearly, for the ten years ending 1839 it reached £762,698,754, or £76,000,000 per annum, being an increase of 30 per cent.

Passing on to another decade. I find that during the second ten years of our review there was a falling-off in the consumption of intoxicating liquors as compared to the first, so much so that the total amount expended during the ten years ending 1840 was only $f_{1717,208,512}$, or about $f_{1,72,000,000}$ yearly, as against $f_{1,76,000,000}$ yearly in the previous decade,—a reduction of nearly 6 The prime cause which led to this was, per cent. that trade had become paralysed. And no wonder that it should be so after ten years of such fearful waste, while vet, owing to the restrictions on trade, our foreign commerce was so small, and help from that source so Hence the terrible depression which existed during a goodly portion of these ten years crippled the buying powers of the people, notably so in 1841-2, the time of plug-drawing, and in 1846-7, the years of the railway panic and Irish famine. And then, too, we must not overlook the spread of temperance principles, and especially so in Ireland, where, under the teaching of Father Mathew and others, the consumption of spirits sunk from 11,000,000 gallons annually for the five years ending 1830 to an average of 6,000,000 gallons annually for the five years ending The like influences operated in England and Scotland, though to a much less extent.

The repeal of the corn laws in 1848 led to a large development in our foreign trade, and to a great increase

in wages at home. Under these influences, coupled with the shortening of the hours of labour, the consumption of intoxicating liquors began to grow again, and for the ten years ending 1859 the money spent upon them amounted to £817,041,512, or £81,000,000 annually, being an increase of 14 per cent. upon the preceding ten years. This increase would probably have been greater but for certain counteracting influences. The most important of these was the adoption of the Sunday Closing Act in Scotland, which reduced the consumption of spirits in Scotland from 34,600,000 for the five years prior to the passing of the Act to 27,900,000 for the five years after, being a falling off of 20 per cent.

In addition to this, there was some check given to drinking in England by the passing of a partial Sunday Closing Act in 1848, which closed public-houses till twelve o'clock at noon on Sundays. Besides these influences, there was an increase in the duties upon spirits in Scotland and Ireland. In Scotland they were advanced from 3s. 8d. per gallon to 4s. 8d. in 1853, and afterwards in 1856 to 8s.; in Ireland from 2s. 8d. to 3s. 4d. in 1853, and to 6s. 2d. in 1856. In 1855 the Malt Duty was raised throughout the United Kingdom from 2s. 8d. to 4s. per bushel. All these changes tended to lessen the consumption of alcoholic liquors. Still, as we have seen, there was an increase of 12 per cent.

The year 1860 saw the introduction of the Grocers' Licenses and of the Wine Bill, together with several other changes, almost all of which were calculated to afford facilities for drinking. The result of these changes was a great increase in the consumption of alcoholic liquors, which rose in value from £817,000,000, for the ten years ending 1859, to £1,020,677,801, for the ten years ending

1869, or an average consumption of £102,000,000 yearly, instead of £81,000,000, being an increase of 25 per cent. This increase would have been greater but for the fact that in 1860 the duty on spirits was increased from 8s. per gallon to 10s. As a consequence of this increase of duty, though the aggregate consumption of all kinds of intoxicating liquors increased considerably, the consumption of British spirits decreased, being only 207,000,000 gallons for ten years ending 1869, as against 240,000,000 for ten years ending 1859.

If we pass on to another decade, we find matters still worse. For the ten years ending 1879 the money spent upon intoxicating liquors reached a total of £1,359,787,804, or an average of £136,000,000 per annum,—an increase upon the previous ten years of 33 per cent., the population in the meantime having only grown 10 per cent.

I need not enlarge upon the causes which led to this enormous increase in drinking. It resulted from two causes: first, from the multiplied temptations which were introduced among the people by the Wine Bill, and the granting of licences to grocers by the legislation of 1860 and 1861; and second, from the expansion of trade caused by the enormous development in our exports. Wages rose, and the hours of labour were reduced; and. in many cases, both masters and men, having the means of dissipation in their pockets, and the time at their command, yielded to the temptation, and the consumption of intoxicating liquors, with all the accompanying evils, rapidly increased until 1876, when the bill for the same reached the appalling sum of £,147,288,760. Since then there has been a falling off, and in 1879, the last year in the decade the amount fell to £,128,143,865.

This falling off arose partly, no doubt, from the depression in trade, but I believe largely also from the growing acceptance of temperance principles, which during the last few years has probably been greater than at any period in the history of the movement.

Possibly it may be thought surprising, that if such an enormons expenditure was going on as is here stated, that the country could stand it. But it must be remembered, that the country has possessed exceptional facilities for producing wealth; indeed, it has largely had a monopoly of the trade of the world, and hence it has been enabled to spend and waste in a manner which, under other circumstances, would have involved it in ruin.

A glance at our exports will confirm this statement, for whilst for the ten years prior to 1830 our total exports were only valued at £364,158,419, or £36,000,000 yearly, for the ten years ending 1879 they amounted in value to £2,181,011,959, or £218,000,000 yearly, being six times as great during the latter period as the former. In 1880 our exports reached £223,000,000, and our imports £411,000,000, making together the enormous total of £634,000,000, being more than one-fourth of the entire commerce of the world.

The following Table will be of service in enabling the reader to see at a glance the amount of money spent upon intoxicating liquors relative to the population at various periods between 1820 and 1882.

TABLE SHOWING THE POPULATION, TOTAL COST, AND AVERAGE COST PER HEAD OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM FOR VARIOUS YEARS FROM 1820 TO 1870, AND FOR EACH SUBSEQUENT YEAR UP TO 1882.

Year.	Population.	TOTAL COST.	Average Cost per Head.
		£	£ s. d.
1820	20,807,000	50,440,655	2 8 6
1825	22,571,000	67,027,263	2 19 5
1830	23,820,000	67,292,278	2 16 5
1835	25,443,000	80,527,819	3 3 0
1840	26,500,000	77,605,882	2 18 10
1845	27,072,000	71,632,232	2 12 11
1850	27,320,000	80,718,083	2 18 10
1855	28,183,000	76,761,114	2 14 6
1860	28,778,000	85,276,870	2 18 6
1865	29,861,000	106,439,561	3 11 3
1870	31,205,000	118,736,279	3 16 I
1871	31,513.000	125,586,902	3 19 1
1872	31,835,000	131,601,490	4 2 8
1873	32,124,000	140,014,712	4 7 8
1874	32,426,000	141,342,997	4 7 2
1875	32,749,000	142,876,669	4 7 3
1876	33,093,000	147,288,759	4 9 0
1877	33,446,000	142,007,231	4 4 10
1878	33,799,000	142,188,900	4 4 1
1879	34,155,000	128,143,865	3 15 0
1880	34,468,000	122,279,275	3 10 11
1881	34,929,000	127,074,460	3 12 3
1882	35,278,000	126,251,359	3 12 0

If the reader will be at the trouble to add up the expenditure upon intoxicating liquors during the last ten years, and divide it by ten, so as to get the yearly average, he will find it comes to \pounds_4 is. id. per head per year, or about 45 per cent. more per head than it was in 1830.

The severe depression in trade, stretching from 1875 to 1880, and not yet wholly recovered, coupled with the great efforts which were put forth by temperance people* to promote the spread of temperance truth, led to a considerable reduction in the consumption of intoxicating liquors during these years, and in 1880 they had fallent to \pounds_3 10s. 11d. per head.

I do not exaggerate when I say that never before in the history of the movement have the forces at work, and the energy displayed in the temperance movement, been so numerous and earnest and powerful as during the three years ending 1882, and yet the drink expenditure has somewhat increased; in 1882 the average expenditure per head was £3 12s. od. as against £3 10s. 11d. in 1880, and £2 16s. 5d. in 1830, or about 26 per centincrease in 1882 as compared to 1830.

In considering these facts, it should be borne in mind, as has before been observed, that whereas in 1830 almost every one believed in beer, and used it as the national beverage, in 1880-82 very few people believed in it as a beverage, or used it as such. Tea, coffee, cocoa, &c., have superseded it; and yet, notwithstanding this change in opinion, and largely also in practice, so far as the use of intoxicating liquors as beverages goesthere is an expenditure greater by 26 per cent. than there was in 1830.

^{*} See Drink Bill Letter for 1879.

In proof of the statement here made as to the use of tea, I would refer to the fact, that whilst for the ten years ending 1829, the consumption of tea amounted only to 249,201,140th, for the ten years ending 1879 it reached 1,401,151,225th, showing a consumption nearly six times as great in the latter period as in the former. With such an enormous increase in the consumption of tea, &c., largely in substitution of intoxicating drinks as beverages, there ought to have been a great falling off shown in the use of these drinks, and this not being so proves that the drinks consumed are used for tippling, and not as beverage.

When a nation spends £127,000,000 yearly, or £3 12s. od. per head upon a drink which the progress of science and experience has compelled it to admit, is not only useless, but a source of inconceivable misery and mischief to its interests, it shows how terrible is the hold which the habit of drinking has got upon the people, and the need there is not only for continued and increased moral effort, but especially, that the legalised net-work of temptation which has thus enslaved and degraded the people, should cease to be supported or sanctioned by the laws of the land.

The following letter gives the Drink Bill for 1876 together with observations thereon. The year 1876 was the year of greatest consumption of intoxicating liquors in the United Kingdom.

DRINK BILL FOR YEAR 1876.

From the "Manchester Guardian."

THE Excise Returns which are just published give us the data by which we are enabled to calculate the consumption of intoxicating liquors in the United Kingdom for the year 1876.

The following Table gives particulars of the various kinds of intoxicating liquors consumed, and also the money expended thereon:—

```
GALLONS.
British Spirits, - 29,950,288 (a) @ 20s.=£29,950,288
                   11,487,795 (b) @ 24s.= 13,785,354
Foreign Spirits. -
                   18,660,846 (c) @ 18s.= 16,794,761
Wine.
                             BUSH. MALT.
                    CwT.
Beer—Sugar used, 860,223= 3,670,284 (d)
      Malt used. -
                             59,298,869 (e)
      =1,133,444,754 gallons @ 1s. 6d.
British Wines, Cider, &c., (estimated)
     17,500,000 gallons, -
                                               1,750,000
              Total,
                                          £,147,288,759
 (a) See Trade and Navigation Returns, February, 1877, p. 72.
 (b)
           Do.
                          Do.
                                    December, 1876, p. 12.
           Do.
                          Do.
                                    December, 1876, p. 14.
 (c)
 (d)
           Do.
                          Do.
                                    February, 1877, p. 71.
(e)
           Do.
                                    February, 1877, p. 71.
                          Do.
```

In 1876 the population of the United Kingdom was 33,093,439, which would give an expenditure of \pounds_4 9s. for every man, woman, and child in the kingdom.

It is generally allowed by those who have carefully investigated the question, that the indirect cost and loss which result from the liquor traffic are at least as great as the direct expenditure upon the drink. If so, then the aggregate cost and loss to the nation of the liquor traffic during last year, reached the appalling sum of £294,577,520; but if we make a liberal allowance, and take £54,577,520 off this amount, it still leaves the sum of £240,000,000.

The total value of our foreign export trade last year was $\pounds_{200,575,856}$; it will be seen, therefore, that the direct and indirect cost and loss of the nation's drinking last year exceeded by nearly $\pounds_{40,000,000}$ the value of all our foreign export trade. No wonder that there should be such fearful depression in our home markets. If only half this amount had been diverted into the home trade, and expended in purchasing articles of clothing, &c., it would have given such an impetus to trade as would have kept every workshop and mill constantly busy.

During the last seven years the direct cost of our drinking has been as follows:

						£947,447,808
1876,		-	-	-	-	147,288,759
1875,	-	-	-	-	-	142,876,669
1874,	-	-	-	-	-	141,342,997
1873,	-	-	-	-	-	140,014,712
1872,	-	-	-	-	-	131,601,490
1871,	-	-	-	-	-	125,586,902
1870,	-	-	-		-	£118,736,279

The above figures only represent the direct expenditure upon the drink; if to this be added the indirect loss, it will give over £1,800,000,000, a sum about two and half times the entire amount of our national debt.

And what has the nation got in return for this enormous outlay and loss?

1st. Our home trade has been crippled and paralysed. If the drink money had been expended on manufactures it would have given us a most flourishing home trade; and, further, it would have brought comfort and plenty to hundreds of thousands of stinted homes.

and. Our workshops and manufactories have been embarrassed and upset in consequence of the unsteadiness and irregularity of our workmen. Great inconvenience and often serious losses have resulted therefrom.

3rd. Our land has been deluged by intemperance, our population has been degraded and debased, and a large mass of our people have been converted into paupers, criminals, lunatics, &c.

4th. It has caused a destruction of grain and produce equivalent to about 1,200,000,000 4lb. loaves annually, an amount of food which would have maintained the entire population of the United Kingdom for more than four months each year.

5th. Innumerable accidents, diseases, and premature deaths have been caused. To such an extent does this take place, that Dr. B. W. Richardson, President of the Health Section of the Social Science Congress, stated in his address at Brighton, October, 1875, that the duration of life in this country was diminished to the extent of one-third through the sale and use of intoxicating liquors. From the returns of the Registrar General I find that the total number of deaths in the United Kingdom in 1876

were 676,768, one-third of which would be 225,589, representing the deaths which are directly or indirectly caused through drink.

6th. Social, educational, political, moral, and religious progress have been obstructed.

7th. The streets and lanes of our towns have often presented scenes of drunkenness and degradation that have been appalling. There have been brawls, quarrels, and fights, which have not unfrequently ended in bloodshed, and sometimes in murder, and the lives of our people have been rendered insecure.

8th. Many homes have been filled with misery; the youth and manhood of our land has been corrupted and blighted, and the female population of our country is rapidly being involved in the same vortex of debasement and ruin.

And in maintaining the traffic which has entailed upon us these appalling evils, we have, during the last seven years, directly and indirectly paid, or sacrificed, the sum of £1,800,000,000.

If we had paid this amount to be rid of the evils, we should have acted a common-sense and Christian part.

What, then, shall be done to remedy the great evil?

1st. We must set our faces against, and by our personal examples discourage the drinking customs of society.

2nd. We must give our earnest support to all legislative measures calculated to remove the overwhelming temptations to intemperance which abound in our land.

WILLIAM HOYLE.

MARCH 12th, 1877.

DRINK BILL FOR YEAR 1877.

DURING the last three years the money spent upon intoxicating liquors has been as follows:—

						£432,172,659
1877,	-	-	-	•	-	142,007,231
1876,	-	-	-	-	-	147,288,759
1875,		-	-	-	-	£ 142,876,669

Making a total expenditure for the three years of four hundred and thirty-two millions, one hundred and seventy-two thousand, six hundred and fifty-nine pounds.

It is a difficult matter for the mind to realise the magnitude of figures such as these; but it may perhaps assist when I state that if the money were deposited in the Bank of England in sovereigns and had to be carted away in one horse carts, it would require 2716 carts, each carrying twenty-five hundred-weight of sovereigns before the sum was carried away, and the carts would form a procession upwards of twelve miles long.

These amounts are so enormous that possibly some persons may be disposed to question their accuracy. The following table, however, gives particulars of the Drink Bill for 1877.

Table showing the consumption and cost of intoxicating liquors in the United Kingdom for the year 1877:

British Spirits, - 29,888,176 gals., @ 20S. = £29,888,176
Foreign Spirits, 10,618,564 ,, ,, 24S. = 12,742,277
Wines, - 17,671,273 ,, ,18S. = 15,904,146

Cwt. Bush. Malt.

Beer—Sugar used, 870,853 = 3,715,640

Malt used, -
$$\frac{56,819,643}{60,535,283}$$

Total, - - $\frac{56,819,643}{60,535,283}$

=1,089,635,094 gallons, @ 18. 6d.

British Wines, Cider, &c., (estimated),

17,500,000 gallons, - . @ 2S. 1,750,000

Total, - - $\frac{1}{5,142,007,231}$

It is a humiliating and painful thought that we, a people who pride ourselves so much on our Christianity, should spend upon our gratification and licentiousness in one year the appalling sum of £142,000,000. Our contributions for foreign mission work to promote the evangelisation of the world reach from 1,000,000 to 1,100,000 per annum, and we take credit to ourselves for so doing, and yet every three days in the year we spend a greater amount upon our own sensual indulgence. That is, we give more in three days to Bacchus, than we do in a whole year to the God of missions; and yet we call ourselves a Christian people!!

DRINK BILL FOR YEAR 1878.

From the "Times."

THE Excise Returns are again to hand, and we are enabled to calculate the consumption of intoxicating liquors for the year 1878.

The following Table gives particulars of the various kinds of intoxicating liquors consumed, together with the money expended thereon. It also gives the consumption for 1877:

	Gallons.	1878.	1877.
British Spirits, -	29,358,715	29,358,715	29,888,17 6
Foreign Spirits, -		12,636,364	12,742,277
Wine,	16,272,295	14,645,065	15,904,146
Beer— Cwt. Sugar, 1,128,22 Malt used,	Bush, Malt. 6 4,813,760 57,259,393	83,798,756	81,722,632
Total, =1,117,316,754			
Brit. Wines, Cide		1,750,000	1,750,000

From these returns it will be seen that in 1878, with all the terrible depression that prevailed in trade, the money spent upon intoxicating liquors was £181,669 more than was spent in 1877.

Total, -

- 142,188,000 142,007,231

It will also be noted that whilst wine and spirits (supposed to be drunk mainly by the upper and middle classes) have fallen off nearly two millions sterling, the consumption of beer (generally allowed to be the beverage of the working classes) has increased more than two millions sterling.

During the last seven years the total expenditure upon intoxicating liquors in the United Kingdom has been £987,320,758.

In the year 1860 Mr. Gladstone, avowedly to lessen the deplorable intemperance which then prevailed, introduced his Wine Bill. It may, therefore, be interesting to compare the consumption of intoxicating liquors now with what it was at that time. For this purpose I will take the seven years ending 1863, and compare them with the seven years just ended:

```
- £84,486,282
                        1872, - £,131,601,490
1857,
1858,
          86,990,341
                        1873. -
                                   140,014,712
1859, -
          88,739,721
                        1874, -
                                   141,342,997
          85,276,870
1860. -
                        1875, -
                                   142,876,669
                                   147,288,759
1861. -
          94,942,107
                        1876, -
£862, -
          88,867,563
                        1877. -
                                   142,007,231
          92,088,185
                                   142,188,900
1863,
                        1878, -
       £,621,301,060
                                 £,087,320,758
```

From the above it will be seen that the increase in the expenditure upon intoxicating liquors during the seven years ending 1878, as compared with the seven years ending 1863, was £365,929,689, being an increase of over 58 per cent.

The population of the United Kingdom in 1863 was 29,433,918, and in 1878 33,799,386, being an increase

of less than 15 per cent. of population, as compared with an increase of 58 per cent. in the consumption of drink.

The entire value of our exports for the four years ending 1878 was £815,000,000, being £172,000,000 less than the money which the nation spent on drink during the seven years just ended.

If to the drink expenditure we add the indirect cost and losses resulting therefrom, it will increase the drink bill by at least $\mathcal{L}_{100,000,000}$ per annum, and show a constant national loss very much exceeding the total value of our foreign trade.

At the present time the anxiety of merchants and manufacturers is as to where they shall find a market for their goods. Efforts are being made to open out Africa, and to increase our trade in other directions. This is all very commendable. But would it not be well to turn our attention to our home markets as well? When by our habits of drinking we squander, directly and indirectly, a greater sum than the value of all our foreign trade, we have in our own hands a prompt remedy for the stagnation which exists.

The enormous burden of the drink expenditure is one that in the face of the world's competition we cannot continue to carry, and especially as it is accompanied by a deterioration of the workman, which makes the burden all the greater, and outside competition all the more easy and successful.

Everyone who wishes to preserve our national status will be anxious to help forward all efforts for redeeming the country from the slavery of intemperance, which paralyses its trade, corrupts its morals, and degrades its. population to an extent that is beyond conception.

WILLIAM HOYLE.

MARCH 11th, 1879.

DRINK BILL FOR YEAR 1879.

From the "Times."

THE Excise Returns, giving the consumption of intoxicating liquors for 1879 have been published, and, now that the excitement of the election is passing away, it may not be unacceptable to your readers to have placed before them a statement showing the amount of money expended upon intoxicating liquors during the year 1879.

The following Table gives particulars of the various kinds of intoxicating liquors consumed, together with the money expended thereon. It also gives the consumption for 1878:

		1879.	1878.
	GALLONS.	£	£
British Spirits, - 2	7,936,651	27,936,651	29,358,715
Foreign Spirits, -	9,540,851	11,449,021	12,636,364
Wine, 1	4,945,093	13,450,584	14,645,065
Beer— Cwt.	Bush. Malt.]	
Sugar, 1,066,687	4,551,192		
Malt used, - 4	19,935,926	73,557,609	83,798,756
Total, 5 980,768,124 gals.	4,487,118 at 18 6d.		
Brit. Wines, Cider, &	kc. (estd.)	1,750,000	1,750,000
Total		128.143.865	142,188,900

Showing a falling-off in the consumption of £14,054,035, or 9.2 per cent.

It will be a source of much gratification to all who are concerned for the national well-being, to observe the great falling-off which there has been in the consumption of intoxicating liquors in 1879 as compared with 1878, reducing the drink bill to an amount below that of any year since 1870. That year the drink bill amounted to £118,736,279; in 1876 it had risen to £147,288,769; in 1877 it fell to £142,007,231; in 1878 it rose a little, being £142,188,900; and in 1879 it had fallen to £128,143,865, being, as I have said, less than any year since 1871, and Nineteen Millions less than in 1876.

Perhaps it may be said that a considerable proportion of the falling-off has been caused by the diminution of the people's means owing to the depression in trade. Doubtless some of it may have arisen from this cause; but if the falling-off were wholly attributable to the badness of the times, we should find the same cause affecting the consumption of other things, such as tea, coffee, &c. This has not been the case, as the following. Table will show:

Table Showing the Consumption of Tea, Coffee, and Cocoa during the Years 1878 and 1879.

	1 8 78.	1879.	
Tea, -	157,396,661B	160,432,284tb	1.9 % increase.
Coffee,	33,393,248tb	34,696,256 t b	3.9 % increase.
Cocoa,	9,966,286tb	10, 076,5 04 l b	1.3 % increase.

Giving an average increase of 2.3 per cent.

From the tables which I have given it will be seen that whilst the consumption of intoxicating liquors fell off to the extent of 9:2 per cent., the consumption of tea, &c., increased 2.3 per cent., clearly proving that the

reduction in the former case did not wholly arise from the crippled resources of the people, but partly from a change in their habits due to the spread of temperance truth, to the establishment of coffee-houses, &c., and to improvement in the general legislation of the country.

It will no doubt also be interesting to inquire in what proportion the drink expenditure is spread over the United Kingdom. The following Table will show this, so far as concerns the consumption of beer and British spirits, which are the main items of expenditure. The particulars for wine and foreign spirits are not given in the returns.

TABLE SHOWING THE CONSUMPTION OF BEER AND BRITISH SPIRITS IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND RESPECTIVELY, FOR THE TWO YEARS, 1878 AND 1879.

Brer.		1878.	1879.	Decrease.
England,		74,951,769	66,177,066	10.4 %
Scotland,	-	3,996,562	3,337,792	16.7 %
Ireland,	-	4,850,424	4,040,695	16.7 %
SPIRITS.				
England,	-	16,697,663	16,314,174	2.3 %
Scotland,	-	6,559,147	6,287 , 47 7	4.1 %
Ireland,	-	6,101,905	5,335,000	12.5 %

From the above figures it will be seen that whilst the falling off in the consumption of intoxicating liquors has been considerable all round, it has been greater in Ireland, where Sunday-closing has recently come into operation, than in England or Scotland; and there can be no doubt that the good resulting from Sunday-closing in Ireland would have been still more marked, had it not been that five of the large towns, viz., Dublin, Cork,

Belfast, Limerick, and Waterford, are exempted from the operation of the Sunday-closing Act.

On taking a general survey of the position of matters relating to the nation's intemperance, there will everywhere be a feeling of relief, if not of great satisfaction, at the rapid progress which has taken place in favour of temperance during the past few years. During the height of our prosperity, six or seven years ago, whilst the evils of intemperance were universally admitted, and by many deplored, there yet appeared on the part of the public to be an indifference and an apathy touching these evils, that filled with gloom the hearts of good men, and the fear began to arise in many minds, that the nation had become so greatly debased and enslaved by drink as to be callous to its vital interests. tinued spread of temperance truth, coupled with the severe distress which has existed, a distress which has largely been the result of this intemperance, has at length not only enlightened the understandings of the people. but has roused them to such a sense of personal obligation as has borne the wholesome fruits to which I have referred.

This growth of opinion has been largely manifested during the recent elections. For the first time, perhaps, in the history of electioneering, politicians have taken little or no account of the publican power; the conscience of the nation has been too much aroused to permit of its lending its influence in support of an interest which is so antagonistic to the commercial, moral, physical, and social well-being of the people; and the result is, that we have a Parliament more in sympathy with questions of social reform than has ever been the case during the present generation, and if the new House of Commons succeeds

in dealing with the licensing system in such a manner as will redeem the country from the fearful evils resulting from the system, it will earn the gratitude, not only of the nation, but of the whole civilised world.

WILLIAM HOYLE.

APRIL 20th, 1880.

Following the publication of the Drink Bill letter for 1879, a letter appeared in the "Times," signed W. P. Branson, criticising the same. Mr. Branson contended, First, That the consumption of tea had yearly increased by leaps and bounds from 1857 to 1867, when it approached its maximum possible weight; and, Second, He argued that in times of depressed trade, the poorer classes consumed more tea, and less of intoxicating liquors, and that therefore the increased consumption of tea was owing to the same cause that had brought about the decreased use of intoxicating liquors. The following letter was sent in reply:

To the Editor of the "Times,"

SIR,—I shall be glad if you will permit me to point out that the statements and theories in the letter of your correspondent, Mr. Branson, are not borne out by the facts of the case.

Mr. Branson says: "During the last thirty years, and especially from 1857 to 1867, the consumption of tea annually increased 'by leaps and bounds,' until soon after the latter year signs were evident that its maximum possible weight was being nearly approached." He argues that in times of depression, and consequent poverty, the working classes take to tea, and he makes the statement, that "the greater the poverty, the greater has been the consumption of tea."

What are the facts?

In 1857 the consumption of tea in the United Kingdom was 69,132,101lb; in 1867 it was 110,988,209lb, being an increase in the ten years of 41,856,108lb., or an average increase of 4,185,610lb per year.

In 1868 the consumption of tea was 106,815,262th; in 1876 it reached 149,104,194th, giving an increase of 42,288,932th, during the eight years, or an average increase of 5,286,116th, yearly, being 26 per cent. greater than during the years of "leaps and bounds."

I take the years 1868 to 1876 because they were on the whole probably the most prosperous business years in the history of the country, and certainly they were the years during which there was the greatest increase in the consumption of intoxicating liquors; for while in 1868 the drink bill was only £113,464,874, in 1876 it reached £147,288,759, being an increase of £33,823,885.

In 1879 the drink bill fell to £128,143,865, showing a decrease of £19,144,894 as compared with 1876; but during the same period, that is from 1876 to 1879, the consumption of tea increased from 149,104,194b. to 160,652,187b, or a net amount of 11,547,993b.

The figures I have given, which are taken from the Government returns, show that the greatest increase in

the consumption, both of intoxicating liquors and tea, was during the years of trade prosperity, and hence the legitimate inference is, that increased means augments the consumption of both, and that, on the contrary, decreased means will have an opposite result.

Prof. Liebig, in his "Familiar Letters on Chemistry," (see page 455), argues that poverty leads to an increased use of spirits. I am not about to maintain that this theory is wholly sound, but it is quite as reliable as Mr Branson's; for I find that during the famine in Ireland in 1845-6 the consumption of spirits rose to 15,557,272 gallons for the two years, as compared to 11,997,620-gallons for the two prosperous years 1843-4, and doubtless the enormous quantity of spirits swallowed, must have greatly aggravated the evils of the famine. If Ireland had had a Sunday-closing Bill passed in 1844, the years 1845-6 would have shown a different result, as has been the case with the year 1879-

Although Mr. Branson and I are not agreed as to the cause of the change in the habits of the people from intoxicating liquors to tea, coffee, &c., we are, nevertheless, agreed as to the fact itself, and I wish, in conclusion, to show the economic influence of the change.

Taking the increase in tea, &c., during the year 1879 as compared to 1878, and calculating the cost of the increase at the prices taken by Mr. Branson, I find that while we have saved in intoxicating liquors the sum of £14,045,035, the substitutes we have used have only cost us £421,176.

I have noticed also that within the last ten days Her Majesty's Judges, both at Manchester and Liverpool, have congratulated the grand juries on the great decrease in crime. Now, every one knows the intimate connection between drink and crime, and hence increased sobriety brings decreased crime, and we have not only the money saved in the first expenditure, but in the reduction of the mischievous results. And then, too, we have homes made happy, trade and commerce promoted, and the general social and moral interests of the people benefited.

WILLIAM HOYLE.

· APRIL 24th, 1880.

The "Times," of April 27th, 1880, contained a leader upon the correspondence touching the Drink Bill for 1879. The purport of the argument of the "Times" was, that progress might be retarded by hasty measures of legislation; and that continued education upon the question of temperance would probably prove a remedy for the evils of intemperance. In response to this leader, the following letter was sent:

To the Editor of the "Times."

SIR,—In the able leader upon the above subject which appeared in the "Times" of the 27th of April you rightly say that the matter is one which "raises questions which are of great national importance." Sharing as I do this opinion strongly, I venture to ask permission briefly to place before your readers a few thoughts touching the

phase of the question which is alluded to in the latter part of the leader referred to.

We are all hopeful, if not sanguine, that the distresswhich has so long harassed the country will soon have passed away; but mingled with this hope there is in most minds a fear that with returning prosperity the nation will relapse into its former habits of intemperance. produce the greater sobriety which has prevailed in-1879 two influences have been at work. First, the educating influence of temperance men and others in regard to the evils of drinking; and second, the pressure of hard times disposing, if not compelling, the minds of the people, not only to the reception of the truth, but toits practice. When the second of these influences shall have passed away, will the power of the first be sufficient to enable the nation to maintain its improved position? The history of the past gives but little reason to justify such a hope.

In the first place, I may refer to the fact that while, during the last twenty years and more, the national conscience has universally condemned,—nay, I may say has deplored,—the vice of drunkenness, habits of intemperance have largely increased. This is proved by the fact that while the convictions for drunkenness in England and Wales during the year 1860 numbered only 88,361, in 1877 (the latest returns to hand) they were 200,184. This view is corroborated by the drink-bills for the two years, for while in 1860 the amount spent on intoxicating liquors was £85,276,870, in 1876 it reached £147,288,759. We have thus had the anomaly of a growing and almost universal condemnation of an evil, and yet a great increase in the practice of the evil itself. In the second place I may refer to testimony of

another kind, which the experiences of the last forty years have exhibited in connection with the temperance movement, viz., when, under the influence of earnest teaching, there have been great changes in the people's opinions and habits. This was notably the case in Ireland under Father Mathew's advocacy during the years 1838-9-40; but by-and-by there was a relapse, not from any change in public opinion, but because the energy of the movement could not be sustained against the many temptations which existed. The drink-shops were ever there, and the interested publicans were ever at work pushing their trade; the snares proved too powerful for the people, and they fell away again by thousands. If in those days the people had possessed the legal power to protect themselves from the traffic, as defined in the local option proposal of Sir Wilfrid Lawson, the educational work of Father Mathew and his fellows would have been clinched, and the country saved from much of the demoralization that followed. The experience of other parts of the United Kingdom has been in harmony with that of Ireland.

I may also refer to another fact. All business men will remember the depression in trade in 1867. That year the consumption of intoxicating liquors fell nearly £4,000,000, being £113,925,458 in 1866, and only £110,122,266 in 1867. When trade revived it began to increase again, until in nine years (that is, in 1876) it reached £147,000,000. And as I have said, the nation all the time not only admitted, but deplored its folly, and yet went on perpetrating it, until hard times again brought into play the second influence,—the influence of privation; and the question is, if this influence passes away, will the convictions of the people be equal to

resisting the legalized temptations which are placed in their path?

There can be no question that if to convince the nation of the folly and evil of intemperance had of itself been sufficient to secure a reform in its habits, we should long ago have been rid of drunkenness; but in struggling to promote social reforms, we cannot overlook the fact that while men are largely swayed by arguments and facts, they are also greatly influenced by the circumstances of life which surround them. So much is this the case that man is sometimes styled "a creature of circumstances," and though this is not wholly true, it has much of truth in A Government, therefore, which rightly appreciates its duty, will seek to mould the influences which surround its population in such a manner as will diminish the temptation to evil, and so, to quote a remark from one of Mr. Gladstone's famous speeches, "make it easy to do right, and difficult to do wrong."

The half century which has elapsed since the passing of the Reform Bill has in many respects had no parallel in the world's history. Our trade and commerce have increased five-fold, and the wages of our population have risen more than 60 per cent, though the hours of labour have been reduced over 20 per cent. Educational and religious efforts have been put forth in a degree never before equalled. Social and sanitary reforms have been prosecuted with unexampled energy. In addition to these agencies for good, other special means have been brought to bear, such as bands of hope, temperance societies, mechanics' institutes, mutual improvement societies, together with improved dwellings, parks, museums, free libraries, &c., all established so promote the common end.—the improvement and elevation of the people.

And yet, social and moral reformers are often perplexed and cast down; for despite all these agencies, they are sometimes in doubt whether, after all, any real progress has been made. Why is it that so little progressresults from so great an outlay of effort?

In 1830, prior to the passing of the Beer Act, the number of persons licensed to sell intoxicating liquors in England and Wales was 50,422; now, according to last Report of the Inland Revenue there are 137,249; and besides these a great number of occasional licenses have been granted. Taking into account these increased facilities for obtaining drink, together with the increase in wages and the reduction in the hours of labour, we see how numerous and powerful have been the influences and temptations drawing our people aside from the paths of sobriety and virtue.

True statesmanship will never forget the main end of government, which is, to develop and apply all influences that tend to promote the material, social, physical, and moral good of the community; and repress, or remove. such as are obstructive thereto, and which lead to evil. In relation to trade and commerce, our statesmanshiphas been all that could be desired. The barriers and burdens which weighted down our industries have been removed, and as the result, our trade and commerce have grown in a manner unparalleled in the world's history. But in regard to moral and social progress, the action of our statesmen has been different. Instead of repressing and removing the obstacles to social and moral progress, they have too generally multiplied them. Especially is this so in regard to the liquor traffic. Public houses and other facilities for drinking have been multiplied, and, owing to the many temptations which have thus been

placed in the path of the people, the very wealth which the commercial reforms of the past fifty years have flung into the people's treasury, and which ought to have enhanced their happiness and promoted their elevation, have contributed to their demoralisation, and not unfrequently have led to their ruin.

The excuse put forth for this conduct has been the plea that the social and moral uplifting of the people ought to be left to the influences of education, religion, and moral teaching. To put forth such a plea is simply to ignore the fundamental principles of all right government; and when a legislature whose duty it is to promote the nation's well-being, licenses 180,000 persons to pursue a calling which past experience has shown can only succeed in proportion as the people become demoralised and impoverished, it violates the first principles of its duty, and it so handicaps the labours of social and moral reformers as to make success well-nigh, if not wholly, impossible.

But if by strenuous and persistent efforts success under such conditions were possible, the question would remain, Why should a government whose duty it is to promote the nation's well-being, license 180,000 persons to carry on a traffic which is so antagonistic thereto, and so fraught with evil, and thus tax so enormously the efforts of all social and moral reformers to contend against the evils produced? Were it not for these legalised temptations the forces now so largely employed in grappling with and seeking to neutralise the evils which the liquor traffic produces, would be available for progressive instead of defensive work.

WILLIAM HOYLE.

APRIL 30, 1880.

DRINK BILL FOR YEAR 1880.

From the "Times."

SIR,—During the last few weeks the mind of the nation has been so engrossed by the Irish question at home, and by wars and tumults abroad, that there has been little chance of obtaining a hearing for other questions, however important. For a few days past there has been somewhat of a lull in the storm, and I venture to take advantage of it to call attention to a subject which is of great interest to a large and growing section of the community, and of vital importance to the nation at large. I refer to the expenditure upon intoxicating liquors. The publication of the Excise returns in the early part of the present month enables us to arrive at the expenditure for the year 1880.

Owing to the abolition of the malt-tax and the substitution in lieu thereof of a tax upon beer, the *data* from which the amount of intoxicating liquors consumed during 1880 is derived are more varied than usual. During the first nine months of the year the figures giving the amount of beer consumed are derived from the returns of malt and sugar used for brewing; while for the last three months—that is, from October 1st to December 31st—they are taken from a return which gives the number of barrels of beer upon which duty was paid.

The quantity of malt used in brewing during the nine months ending September 30th, 1880, was 3'1,787,518 bushels, and of sugar 1,019,466 cwt., which was equal to

4,349,721 bushels of malt; adding the two together, we get a total of 36,137,239 bushels; and taking the Excise standard of two bushels of malt as brewing one barrel of beer, it gives a total of 650,470,302 gallons of beer as brewed from January 1st to September 30th. On the 1st of October the malt duty was abolished, and in place thereof a tax was put upon beer. The returns for the last three months of the year are given in beer, and they show that during that period there were 7,072,741 barrels, or 254,618,676 gallons of beer consumed, or a total for the year of 905,088,978 gallons. The returns for spirits and wine are issued in the same form as formerly.

The following Table gives particulars of the quantities used, together with the money expended thereon. To enable a comparison to be made, I append the expenditure for 1879:

	1880.	1879.
Gallons.	£	£
Beer, . 905,088,978 @ 1s.6d.	67,881,673	73,557,609
B. Spirits, 28,457,486 @ 20s.	28,457,486	27,936,651
F. Spirits, 8,477,512 @ 24s.	10,173,014	11,449,021
Wine, . 15,852,335 @ 18s.	14,267,102	13,450,584
B. Wines, 15,000,000 @ 28.	1,500,000	1,750,000
	122,279,275	128,143,865

Showing a decrease in consumption as compared with 1879 of £5,864,590, or 4.6 per cent.

Twenty years ago, in 1860, the drink bill was £85,276,870 Year by year, with two or three trifling exceptions, it continued to grow until 1876, when it reached the enormous total of £147,288,759. In 1877

it fell to £142,007,231; in 1878 it rose a little, being £142,188,900; since 1878 it has fallen as the table I have given shows.

If the figures relating to the consumption of beer for the last three months of the year be compared with those for the previous nine months, it will be seen that there is a considerable increase. Those, however, who followed the Budget debates during July of last year will see reason to suspect that this increase is not wholly due to an increased consumption, but partly to the fact that the new method of collecting the duty from the beer, instead of from the malt, registers more correctly the actual consumption of beer, and that in former years there was considerably more beer brewed and sold than the returns of malt indicated.

I have said that prior to October 1st of last year the tax which is now upon beer was charged upon malt. At that time a drawback was allowed upon all beer which was exported, which drawback was calculated to be equal in amount to the tax paid upon the malt. The amount of drawback allowed was reckoned according to the specific gravity of the beer; and the principle upon which it was taken was, that beer brewed on the basis of two bushels to the barrel would give a liquor of the specific gravity of 55°. Upon this basis, during the 18 years ending 1879, Mr. Gladstone stated that the brewers had been paid drawback upon exported beer to the amount of £3.125,000.

In transferring the duty from the malt to the beer, Mr. Gladstone very naturally and very justly proposed to fix the tax upon the same basis as that on which it had been reckoned in the drawback paid to the brewer, but the the brewers objected. They were content to pocket the

drawback upon beer on the basis of 55° of specific gravity, but when they came to have to pay upon the same basis they objected, and the opposition was so powerful that Mr. Gladstone gave way, and proposed 57°; but the brewers did not accede even to this compromise without an effort to defeat it, and Mr. Watney, who is a brewer, moved in the House:—"That the duty should be imposed upon worts of a specific gravity of 1,060°, instead of 1,057°, as it then stood in the Bill." Mr. Gladstone refused to accept the amendment of Mr. Watney, and carried his point by 188 votes to 151.

In reply to a question put to him by Mr. Whitworth, Mr. Gladstone said that the estimated quantity of malt which had been used in beer exported was 23,027,000 bushels, and the drawback paid upon it had been £3,125,000. Had the standard, instead of being 55° been 60° , as Mr. Watney proposed, the estimated quantity of malt used in beer exported would have been 21,117,000 bushels, and the drawback paid upon it would have been £2,865,000, or less by about £260,000 than the sum which had been paid to the brewers; or, to put it in other words, the brewers paid £2,865,000 of tax upon malt, and got back in drawbacks upon beer exported £3,125,000, and thus they pocketed the handsome sum of £260,000 during the 18 years ending 1879.

I refer to these facts because, although there can be no doubt that with the improved trade towards the end of last year the returns showed an increase in the consumption of alcoholic liquors, especially of beer, yet the apparent beer increase was not wholly due to larger consumption, but partly to the more accurate measuring of the manufacture secured by Mr. Gladstone's transfer of the tax from malt to beer; still there is enough of

increase to excite a fear that if trade and commerce should fully revive there would be some considerable increase in the intemperance of the nation, unless there be some change in the law so as to reduce the temptations to intemperance which so widely prevail.

I have incidently referred to the Irish question, which is so closely bound up with the question of the reform of our land laws as to be inseparable. I do not here name it to offer any opinion upon it, but simply to illustrate the vast importance of the question upon which I now write. Let us look at one feature of the land question and compare it with the liquor question.

In Great Britain, according to Mr. Caird, the average rent of agricultural land is estimated at 30s. per acre-In Ireland, from returns which are issued by Government, it appears to be about 155, per acre. In Great Britain there are 32,101,909 acres returned as cultivated land, which at 30s. gives £,48,152,863; in Ireland, 15,357,856 acres, which at 15s. gives £11,518,392, giving a total of £59,671,255. Comparing these figures with the figures of the drink bill, it will be seen that even with the reductions which have taken place during the last three or four years in our drink bill, it is yet more than double the entire rental of all the agricultural land in the United Kingdom. In Ireland, which is almost entirely agricultural, and where there is so much deplorable destitution, the rental of the land devoted to farming -amounts to £11,518,392; but during the ten yearsending 1879, the people of Ireland spent on an average £12,682,537 each year in intoxicating liquors, or £,1,164,145 more than the entire rental of the agricultural land of the country. This calculation takes no cognizance of the indirect losses resulting from

drinking, which would add at least ten millions to the amount given; thus making the cost of alcoholic liquors to Ireland, notwithstanding its poverty, probably double the rent roll of all its agricultural land. It will need no superior intellect to see that if a reduction of the rent burden would prove so highly beneficial, far greater would be the benefits which would result from the abolition of the drink burden, seeing that in its results it costs more than double the entire rental of all the land in the country, and it shows, too, how contrary it is to reason that the House of Commons should devote so much time to the lesser question, and none to that which is so very much greater.

WILLIAM HOYLE.

MARCH 21st, 1881.

DRINK BILL FOR YEAR 1881.

Along with the Board of Trade Returns for February, we have also the Excise Returns, which enable us to calculate the expenditure upon intoxicating liquors during the year 1881. The following are the particulars thereof. I also give the figures for 1880:

•	Gallons.	1881. £	1880. £
Beer, -	970,788,564 @ 1s.6		67,881,673
B. Spirits,	28,730,719 @ 20s.	28,730,719	28,457,486
F. Spirits,	8,295,265 @ 24s.	9,954,318	10,173,014
Wine, -	15,644,757 @ 18s.	14,080,281	14,267,102
B. Wines,	15,000,000 @ 2S.	1,500,000	1,500,000
		127,074,460	122,279,275

If the percentage of the increase of the various liquors be calculated, it will be seen that the consumption of beer shows an increase of 7.3 per cent., and British spirits 0.96 per cent., while foreign spirits show a decrease of 2.1 per cent., and wine 1.3 per cent. Taking the percentage of the total, it gives an aggregate increase of 3.9 per cent.

It will be seen from the above figures that the increase in consumption is almost entirely in beer. Those of your readers who followed the debates in the House of Commons, when Mr. Gladstone transferred the tax from

malt to beer, will agree with me when I say that this increase in the consumption of beer is more apparent than real. Up to the year 1880 the quantity of beer consumed was calculated from the malt used, and the basis of calculation used by the Excise was, that it would take two bushels of malt to brew a barrel of beer of the strength of 1.055°; but when the tax was transferred from malt to beer, and Mr. Gladstone proposed to levy the duty upon beer at a strength of 1,055°, the brewers objected, and contended that two bushels of malt would brew a barrel of beer of the strength of 1,060°. Gladstone ultimately compromised the matter by fixing the taxing strength of the beer at 1,057°. The brewers and their friends, however, strongly resisted the proposal; and Mr. Watney, the brewer, moved an amendment to the effect that the tax should be levied upon beer at a strength of 1,060°. He was, however, defeated, and Mr. Gladstone's resolution was carried.

Now, if it be the fact, as brewers assert, that two bushels of malt will brew a barrel of beer of the strength of 1,060°, it must follow that the calculations as to the amount of beer consumed prior to the abolition of the Malt-Tax must have been understated to the extent of 1-11th of the total amount of beer given in the drink-bill figures; because, instead of getting 55 barrels of beer from a given quantity of malt, the brewers got 60 barrels; and so the expenditure upon beer, which I have calculated as reaching an average of £,78,521,677 yearly for the past ten years, must have been about £85,660,011, or £,7,128,334 more per annum than the amount which have been published. And if the calculation of beer consumed last year had been made upon the basis of beer of the strength of 1,055° as formerly, instead of

 $1,057^{\circ}$. it would have given 1-19th less of consumption, or, instead of being £72,809,142, it would have been £68,977,082, and the total of the drink bill would then only have been £123,242,400, or but 0.8 per cent. increase upon last year.

The total expenditure upon intoxicating liquors of all kinds during the past ten years has been £1,364,818,358 or, in round numbers, £136,500,000 yearly. But if the brewers' corrections be made, it will give £143,600,000 as having been spent upon intoxicating liquors during each of the past ten years, or a total of £1,436,000,000, a sum nearly twice the extent of our national debt. And let it be borne in mind that these figures in no way include any of the indirect costs and losses which result from drinking. These will amount at the very least to another £100,000,000 annually, giving a total cost and loss to the nation from our drink expenditure of over £240,000,000 yearly.

But if we look only at the money directly expended upon intoxicating liquors, the figures are really appalling. Let me give one illustration to show their magnitude. The gross rental of all the houses in the United Kingdom is variously estimated at from £,70,000,000 to I will take it at £,75,000,000. £,77,000,000. gross rental of agricultural land was estimated in 1878 to be a little short of £60,000,000. Since then rents in both houses and land have fallen; but I will take the figures given above, and adding them together they amount to $f_{135,000,000}$. As I have before stated, even without the brewers' corrections, our drink expenditure during the last ten years has averaged £,136,500,000 yearly, or £, 1,500,000 more than the rental of all the houses and land in the United Kingdom.

outery there has lately been that a reduction of rents is needed to secure a restoration of our prosperity! express no opinion upon this, but I would ask the reader to consider the question, if such a reduction of rents will insure the prosperity spoken of, what would be the financial prosperity that would result from the saving of an amount greater than the sum total of all our rents. both of land and houses? And let it not be forgotten, we should not only save the £,136,500,000, but we should further save to the country the indirect losseswhich our drinking customs impose, and which are themselves nearly double the rent-roll of all our farming land. What a mine of wealth we should have at command within our own borders if we only acted with a view to the nation's well-being!

If we view the social condition of our country in relation to the crime, pauperism, lunacy, &c., which exist, we shall see that the country has largely lost ground during the last 20 or 25 years. In 1880 the amount paid for poor and police rates in the United Kingdom was £,16,165,220, of which £,10,088,128, was paid in actual relief to the poor, both amounts being the largest ever paid in the nation's history. If we examine the judicial statistics of the country we find that for the three years ending 1861 the convictions for crime of all kinds averaged 250,041 yearly, whereas for the three years ending 1880 they reached 520,628 yearly, being more than double. In 1859 the number of lunatics in asylums in England and Wales was 36,762; in 1880, 71,191, being nearly double. The number of vagrants convicted for the three years ending 1861 was 25,278 yearly, whereas in 1880 they numbered 53,083, or more than double.

These are all evils which result very largely from habits of drinking, and they prove that, while we have been congratulating ourselves upon the financial success of our budgets, these successes have been largely bought at the price of the nation's demoralization; for, facilities for drunkenness have been multiplied, and intemperance with its evils have correspondingly increased. The revenue derivable from drink has gone up, but the nation has gone down, both socially and morally. What a priceless boon it would be to the nation if Mr. Gladstone would turn his magnificent powers to the elaboration of some financial scheme that would make us independent of taxes that are derived from the moral, physical, and social degradation and ruin of our population!

I cannot but observe, in conclusion, that we may derive some gleam of comfort from the drink bill figures of the past year; for there has been considerable improvement in our trade, and yet there has been little increase in our drink consumption. The "Times," in a leader, a year ago, expressed the fear that "the ups and downs of our drinking expenditure simply represented the ups and downs of our prosperity, employment, and wages;" but it has not been wholly so, for we have had considerable prosperity without any increase of drinking, showing that the efforts which have been put forth in the cause of temperance, both in regard to moral suasion and legislation, have not been without influence upon the nation.

And yet is it not a matter to be deplored, that with all the great labours of the past year both in religion, temperance, education, and other social reforms, we have merely been able to hold our own? But this will not excite surprise, if we remember that there have been planted broadcast over the land 180,000 or more

houses licensed to push a traffic which can only prosper in proportion as it involves the degradation, impoverishment, and ruin of our fellow men; for, to quote the eloquent language of one of your leaders:—" Drinking baffles us, confounds us, shames us, and mocks us at every point. It outwits alike the teacher, the man of business, the patriot, and the legislator. Every other institution flounders in hopeless difficulties; the publichouse holds its triumphant course."

WILLIAM HOYLE.

MARCH 10, 1882.

The "Times," in a leader upon the preceding letter, contended that a greater number of apprehensions now, as compared with former years, was due to the greater vigilance of the police. The "Times" also agreed that what was spent temperately should be separated from what was spent intemperately, &c. The following letter was sent dealing with these points:

To the Editor of the "Times."

SIR,—Permit me to thank you for inserting in your widely circulating and influential paper my letter touching the drink bill of 1881, and also for the very frank article you give, which so forcibly draws attention to some of the objections and difficulties which still appear to float in the public mind upon some of the points referred to in my drink bill letter. Anxiety to be brief induced me

to refrain from adding any explanatory remarks to my letter; but the vast importance of the subject prompts me to ask that you will allow me space to note some of the objections referred to.

I will first of all address myself to those remarks in the leader which relate to crime and pauperism. In my letter I pointed out that during the last twenty years these had greatly increased, especially crime. Alluding to this point, you observe:—"He (Mr. Hoyle) finds it not in the improved certainty and despatch of justice, which has notoriously become more sure and resolute proportionately as it has ceased to be indiscriminate and cruel. He pays no heed to the determination with which mendicity has been checked, and casual charity disciplined."

But, if casual charity had been disciplined, and mendicity had been checked, it must have resulted in reduced pauperism and beggary. Now, what are the facts? The following Table, giving the Returns for 1860 and 1880 will show this. They refer to England and Wales only.

	1860.	1880.	Incr.
Total Convictions for Crime,	255,803	517,373	102 %
Persons proceeded against—			
For drunkenness,	88,361	172,859	95 %
No visible means of subsis-			
tence,	3,030	6,215	101 %
For deserting or neglecting			
to support family, -	3,450	7,342	112 %
For begging,	7,545	21,230	180 %
For prostitution, -	6,694	10,433	56 %

.The population of England and Wales amounted in

1860 to 19,903,713, and in 1880 to 25,480,191, being an increase of 28 per cent.

For the seven years ending 1860 our drink bill averaged £32,000,000 yearly, whereas for the seven years ending 1880 it averaged over £138,000,000, being an increase of 68 per cent.

The figures given above indicate more clearly than anything which I could say would do, the social condition of the nation, and, to my mind, they prove beyond controversy that during the last twenty years it has not been one of growth, but of deplorable declension. This conclusion is further shown to be justified by the fact of the great increase in the amount of money paid in relief, for, while in 1860 the sum paid in "actual relief to the poor was only £5,454,964, in 1880 it was £8,015,010, being an increase of 47 per cent.," whereas the population had only grown 28 per cent.

Here, possibly, the objection may be started, that while the aggregate number of paupers upon the books in England and Wales in 1860 was 851,020, in 1880 the number was only 837,940. But here there is a fact. which needs to be stated, which wholly destroys the value of this slight decrease. It is this: In 1860 the number of indoor paupers was 119,026, whereas in 1880 the number was 180,304; so that, while the aggregate number of paupers had decreased 1.6 per cent., the number of indoor paupers had grown 59 per cent. This 59 per cent. increase of indoor pauperism indicates. the squeezing process which has been going on to reduce the pauper list, and it explains the further increase in vagrancy and beggary; and, coupling with it the fact as to the great increase in the money paid in "actual relief to the poor," it overwhelmingly proves that

pauperism and destitution must have been much more severe in 1880 than it was in 1860.

Again, as regards the statement that the increase in crime arises from the "improved certainty and despatch of justice," I am sorry to be compelled to say that the statement is not borne out by the facts of the case. In the volumes of the Judicial Statistics for the years 1872 and 1880, page 13, I find that the figures are given showing for each year from 1863 to 1880 the per centage of the criminals apprehended in proportion to the number of the crimes which were reported to the police as having been committed. The following are the figures referred to:

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF PERSONS APPREHENDED FOR EVERY HUNDRED INDICTABLE CRIMES REPORTED AS COM-MITTED.

1863	-	58.2	1870	-	51.2	1876 - 47.2
1864	-	56.2	1871	-	52.9	1877 - 46.3
1865	-	56.6	1872	-	50.1	1878 - 44.5
1866	-	53.7	1873	-	49.4	1879 - 45.1
1867	-	50.6	1874	-	46.6	1880 - 42.4
1868		.,,	1875	-	46.9	1881 - 40.9
1869	-	50.6				

The above figures go back nearly to the year which I have taken for comparison touching our criminal returns, and they prove that, instead of justice becoming yearly more certain, it has become more uncertain, for the apprehensions of criminals have gone gradually less in proportion to the number of crimes committed. I make no comment upon this, except to say, that the conclusion is forced upon us that the general demoralization has

been so widespread and deep, as to infect even the officers of justice whose business it is to check it.

After the evidence above adduced, it will, I think, be impossible for any one to venture to deny the fact as to the growth of the nation's demoralization during the last twenty years; nor can the matter be explained away, or even toned down, by any statements as to the increased efficiency of our police; for if this factor be imported into the discussion, the case, which was dark and sad enough before, becomes, as I have shown, still darker and sadder. Besides, when we remember that the universal testimony of judges, magistrates, prison chaplains, workhouse governors, and of all who are officially connected either with the administration of the criminal law or of the poor law of the country is, that our habits of drinking lie at the root of nearly all our crime, pauperism, &c., and when, too, this testimony accords with the experience of every citizen in the country, the evidence becomes so strong as to carry the matter beyond the region of controversy.

There are several other points in your article upon which I might offer remarks, but time and space will not permit. I will therefore refer to only two of these. Towards the conclusion of your article you observe: "Alcohol taken immoderately produces, it will be conceded, all the mischief upon which Mr. Hoyle lays none too much stress. Before, however, he has the right to condemn it for the pecuniary damage it inflicts, he must spoil the vast totals in which he delights by separating the millions spent temperately from the millions spent intemperately."

Upon this passage I would remark:

First, That the evidence as to the injurious character

of alcoholic drinks, even when used in quantities deemed temperate, has become so strong as to make it clear that there is more risk to health in what is conventionally termed moderate drinking than in abstinence. The universal evidence of sick clubs, benefit societies, insurance societies, &c., has shown this, and it is further confirmed by scientific evidence and the testimony of some of the most eminent physicians of the present day. There is really, therefore, on this score no groundwork to plead in favour of upholding the drink traffic.

But if the point as to the utility of alcoholic liquor was admitted,-if it were allowed that, when rightly used, it was as beneficial as new milk, the fact would not lessen the righteousness of the demand for such legislation as would protect society from the evils of intemperance. These evils no one disputes, not even those who still believe in the drink; and they are the justification for Sir Wilfrid Lawson's demand for local option. common sale of intoxicating liquors necessarily leads to drunkenness, with all its attendant evils; and surely the people who suffer are the parties to judge and decide as to whether the good they get from the liquor traffic is worth the price they have to pay in the evils they have to endure from it. No one can reasonably object to this, for to do so would be to insist that a population should be subject to evils from which they should have no power of deliverance.

Secondly, I wish to explain that my remarks touching the revenue were not intended to give any support to the doctrine of free trade in intoxicating liquors. I have no sympathy with such doctrine when applied to mischievous articles like intoxicating drinks; nor yet am I in favour of a policy which provides every possible temptation and facility for the consumption of intoxicating liquors in order that thereby the finances of the country may be augmented, ignoring the fact that financial prosperity under such circumstances must inevitably result in the impoverishment and degradation of the people. This was what I sought to condemn, and richly it deserves to be condemned; for from 1830 up to the last few years the whole genius of the Executive Government, prompted by the Excise officials, has too often been applied to developing greater facilities for extending the liquor traffic: and so Budgets have gone up, but the people have gone down.

What are the statistical facts of the case? In 1830 there were in England and Wales 50,422 houses. licensed for the sale of intoxicating liquors; in 1880 there were something over 150,000, or at least three times the number that were licensed in 1830. And these 150,000 were not content with doing business upon their own premises merely, for some of them have a license to go from door to door. They are a sort of travelling And then there are special licenses for drink shop. agricultural shows, athletic sports, cricket matches, The extent of these extra temptations bazaars. &c. may be judged when I say that in England and Wales in 1880, 302,002 licenses were issued; in Scotland, 25,018; and in Ireland, 52,044; making a total of 380,054. If we take all these things into consideration, we shall see that the temptations to intemperance are now above four times as numerous as they were in 1830, whilst many of them, owing to extensions, are much more potent than they were at that date. The Chief Constable of Glasgow, Mr. M'Call, in his report for 1880, states that in 1858 the rentals of 1622 houses licensed for the

sale of intoxicating liquors amounted to £66,205, giving an average of £40 16s. for each house. In 1880 the number of licensed houses had increased to 1799, while the rentals amounted to £191,612 10s., or an average of £106 10s. 3d. per house.

And alongside of these quadrupled temptations, the people have had more money to spend, and much more time in which to spend it. And so it has been that while our legislators have been initiating fiscal reforms, and removing impediments to trade, whereby our trade and commerce have been developed with a rapidity unparalleled in the world's history, we have side by side with this development of trade developed another machinery which has tempted the people to squander in intemperance the proceeds which a growing commerce has showered upon us. And so the wealth intended by a beneficent Providence for the nation's material and moral elevation, have been the instruments of its impoverishment and degradation. It could not be otherwise: for whatsoever a nation soweth, so it must reap. We have sown the wind, and we have reaped the whirlwind.

WILLIAM HOYLE.

MARCH 25th, 1882.

DRINK BILL FOR YEAR 1882.

From "The Times."

THE frequent references which have appeared in the general press of the country during the last few months touching the falling-off in the revenue from intoxicating liquors indicates the deep interest which is taken in this subject by the nation at large,—an interest not resulting from concern at the decrease in the revenue, but of satisfaction at the growing sobriety of the population.

The following figures, which I have calculated from the recently issued Government Returns, give particulars as to the consumption of intoxicating liquors during the year 1882:

			Gallons.		£
British Spirits,	-	-	28,554,264 @ 20s	=	28,554,264
Foreign Spirits,	-	-	8,292,125 @ 24s	=	9,950,425
Wine, - · -	-	-	14,431,282 @ 18s	=	12,988,154
Beer,	-	-	976,780,224 @ 1/6	=	73,258,516
British Wines,	-	-	15,000,000 @ 2S	=	1,500,000
			,	•	126.251.350

A word of explanation touching the figures relating to the beer given in the above Table is needed. It is this: prior to the abolition of the Malt Tax, and its substitution by a tax on beer in Mr. Gladstone's Budget in 1880, the private brewer who brewed for his own domestic consumption, paid no license, but he paid duty upon the malt When, therefore, the Malt Duty was which he used. abolished, Mr. Gladstone, in order to make up for the loss to the revenue thus caused, imposed a license tax of 6s, upon all private brewers who resided in houses below the annual value of \mathcal{L}_{10} , and 9s. upon all private brewers who resided in houses between f_{10} and f_{15} in annual At the end of the last financial year (March 31, 1882) there were 102,642 persons who paid 6s., and 7383 persons who paid os. license duty; the two together yielding a total income from this source of £34,114 198. If we assume that every 6s. 3d. of the foregoing represents a barrel of beer, used as Mr. Gladstone intended it should be used, we shall have 109,168 barrels, or 3,930,048 galls. of beer as brewed in private houses. These figures are. therefore, included with the beer in the table given above.

It will doubtless be interesting to your readers if I supplement the above Tables by giving the intoxicating liquors consumed in the other years from 1876, the year of our highest drink bill, to 1881. The following Table shows the amounts for these various years:

:	147.288.750	T/2.007.23T	T42 T88.000
British Wines,	1,750,000	1,750,000	1,750,000
Beer,	85,008,356	.,	83,798,756
Wine,	16,794,761	15,904,146	14,645,065
Foreign Spirits,	• . • .	12,742,277	12,636,364
British Spirits,	2 9 ,950,288	29,888,176	29 ,358 ,7 1 5
	1876	1877	1878
	£	£	£

Beer, British Wines,	73,557,609	67,881,673	72,809,142 1,500,000
Foreign Spirits,	13,450,584	10,173,014	9,954,317
Wine,		14,267,102	14,080,282
Beer,		67,881,673	72,809,142
British Spirits,	£	. £	£
	1879	1880	1881
	29,936,651	28,457,486	28,730,719

If the above Tables be examined, it will be seen that between the years 1876 and 1880 there was a considerable diminution in the quantity of intoxicating liquors consumed by the nation, arising partly from the progress of temperance opinion, but mainly from the depression of trade. Taking the consumption upon the basis of population, as given in each year, I find that in 1876 the cost per head of intoxicating liquors reached £,4 qs.; in 1880, f_{3} 10s. 11d.; in 1881, f_{3} 12s. 3d.; and in 1882, £3 125. od. In giving the drink bill a year ago, I pointed out that the change in assessing the tax upon beer instead of upon malt gave a larger return of beer for the same quantity of malt used, estimated to be about one-nineteenth more. In making comparisons, therefore, of years prior to 1880, with subsequent years, this fact ought not to be overlooked.

During the past few months paragraphs have from time to time appeared in the public press referring to the decline in the revenue from the diminished consumption of intoxicating liquors. These comments have created an opinion in the public mind, especially in the minds of those engaged in temperance work, that the reduction of the past year would be greater than proves to be the case; for, when account is taken of the efforts put forth by the

Alliance, the old Temperance Societies, the Blue Ribbon Movement, the Salvation Army, by Bands of Hope, Good Templars, Rechabites, the Church of England Temperance Society, and all the other temperance organisations which are connected with the various Christian churches, a tangible reduction was to have been expected, and it does seem appalling that the most which all these organisations have been able to effect during the past year has been to stem the further rising of the tide of the intemperance which so fearfully deluges our beloved country.

But if we proceed to analyse the situation, and take an accurate survey of the facts of the nation's position, as seen in the light of history, our surprise will disappear, because the legalised influences which so universally produce intemperance are so numerous and powerful that they prove themselves to be more potent than the most energetic voluntary efforts of our people, even when roused to a high pitch of enthusiasm; for a nation which licenses evil, weakens its moral powers, and so long as the Legislature of the country licenses 180,000 persons to pursue a traffic the interests of which are antagonistic to national sobriety, virtue, and order, so long we shall have to mourn our inability to cope with the resulting evils.

Your own columns have recently supplied striking evidence touching the influence which facilities given for drinking have in producing drunkenness; and this in educated communities. In your issue of the 27th of December of last year, the Geneva correspondent wrote as follows:—"The vice of intemperance is growing so fast in Switzerland, as to occasion grave anxiety among public men of all classes. . . . The increase of intemperance against which all sober and thoughtful

Switzers are up in arms dates only from 1874, when the constitution now in force deprived the cantons of the power which they previously possessed of regulating the traffic in drink. . . . Before 1874 the checks imposed. by cantons and communes on the vendors of alcoholic beverages were numerous and minute. . . . As a consequence of the abolition of those restrictions, the number of public-houses has increased from 17,807 in 1870 to 21.838 in 1880. . . . The increase in public-houses has been followed by a marked increase of drunkenness and crime," and "the time lost and the money spent by working men in public-houses" has resulted "in untold suffering thereby inflicted upon their families." In the "Times" of February 16th of the present year their correspondent returns to the subject, and says that the "present condition of the working classes in the Federal capital is deplorable in the extreme. . . That the retail traders are suffering from the impecuniosity of their customers." &c. and other extracts, which your correspondent supports by figures, it will be seen that the order of things in Switzerland has been: Increased facilities for drinking followed by increased drunkenness and crime; and then by the demoralisation and pauperising of the people. precisely as it has been in England.

Permit me to refer to two other instances which show the influence which a restrictive or prohibitory policy in regard to the sale of intoxicating liquors has had upon their consumption. My first example shall be Scotland, which, like Switzerland, is a well educated country. In the spring of 1854 the Forbes Mackenzie Act for the closing of public-houses in Scotland on Sundays came into operation. The result was that the sale of spirits,

which for the seven years ending 1852 had averaged 6,825,320 gallons yearly, for the seven years ending 1861 averaged only 5,392,282 gallons, being a decrease of 21 per cent.

The influence of the Act closing public-houses on Sundays in Scotland is seen still more strikingly if we follow the subsequent growth of the traffic, and compare it with that of England. The following Table shows the spirits consumed in Scotland for the three years ending 1852 and the three years ending 1882:

	£21,125,712		£19,390,250
•	£7,122,987 6,830,710 - 7,172,015	1880, 1881, 1882,	- £6,325,036 - 6,562,259 - 6,502,955
	GALLONS.		Gallons.

Showing a diminution during the three latter years, as compared with the former, of 1,735,462 gallons, or 8 per cent.

Let us look at England and Wales for the same two periods, for comparison:

1851,	£9,331,512 9,595,368 9,820,608	1880, - £16,950,020 1881, - 17,044,967 1882, - 16,811,494
	£28,747,488	£50,806,481

Showing an increase during the latter period, as compared with the former, of 22,058,993 gallons, or 76 per cent.

It will thus be seen that during the thirty years which elapsed subsequently to the passing of Sunday-closing in Scotland, notwithstanding the increase of population, the consumption had not recovered the decline of 21 per cent, which followed the adoption of the Act, whilst in England and Wales the increase had been 76 per cent. Clearly, therefore, the good results of the Act had largely extended beyond the gain by the one day of closing.

The second example to which I will refer is Sweden. Thirty years ago Sweden was doubtless the most drunken country in Europe. In 1855 the License Law of Sweden was amended, and what have been the results? I quote from a pamphlet written in 1876 by Mr. Alexander Balfour, of Liverpool, which was issued in the form of a letter to Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Balfour had been travelling in Sweden, and took advantage of it to make inquiries as to the liquor laws of the country. In his pamphlet, alluding to one part of the law, Mr. Balfour says:

"In estimating the practical value of the Swedish License Reform Act of 1855, allow me to refer to the fact that no minimum number was fixed for licenses, and thus what is essentially a Permissive Prohibitory Act has existed in Sweden for the last 20 years. So vigorously have the people outside of towns used their permission to limit and prohibit, that, among three-and-a-half millions of people, there are only 450 places for the sale of spirits. This it is which has so helped Sweden to emerge from moral and material prostration, and which explains the existence of such general indications in that country of comfort and independence among all classes."

The examples which I have adduced show the potent influence of legislation in all its phases. Thus, Switzer-

land increases her facilities for drinking, and, "drunkenness increases so fast as to occasion grave anxiety among her public men." In Scotland the liquor-shops are closed entirely one day in seven, and the consumption of spirits at once decreases 21 per cent., and, during thirty years of prosperity, never again rises to the amount used before the passing of the Sunday-closing law. In Sweden, what is essentially a Permissive Prohibitory Act is passed, and Sweden thereby emerges from the moral and material prostration to which drunkenness had sunk her.

I would further add to these historic facts the testimony of two unbiassed witnesses. I do this because the data from which the opinion of these witnesses was derived were such as to make the evidence complete in point of authority. The first witness is the Church of Scotland. In the year 1849, five years before the passing of the Scottish Sunday-closing Act, the Church of Scotland appointed a committee to make investigations and report as to the cause of intemperance. They sent out circulars, and got reports from 478 parishes. From these returns the committee drafted a report, in which they say:

"The returns made to your Committee's inquiry clearly prove that the intemperance of any neighbour-hood is uniformly proportioned to the number of its spirit licenses; so that, wherever there are no public-houses, nor any shops for selling spirits, there ceases to be any intoxication."

The second witness I will quote is the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, which also appointed a committee, and sent out circulars of inquiry to over 13,000 parishes. In 1869 they issued their report, from which I quote the following extract: "Few, it may be believed, are cognisant of the fact which has been elicited by the present inquiry, that there are at this time, within the province of Canterbury, upwards of one thousand parishes in which there is neither public-house nor beer-shop, and when, in consequence of the absence of these inducements to crime and pauperism,—according to the evidence before the committee,—the intelligence, morality, and comfort of the people are such as the friends of temperance would have anticipated." Such evidence might be very largely multiplied.

In concluding, I would urge upon everyone who desires the welfare of the nation earnestly to support all measures tending to lessen the temptations to intemperance; and not only to do this, but also to press upon the Government the necessity for effectually dealing with the licensed traffic in intoxicating liquors, which produces intemperance and other evils in this country,—evils in their magnitude so gigantic as to exceed the combined scourges of war, pestilence, and famine. Such are the evils of intemperance as pourtrayed by the present Prime Minister himself in a speech in the House of Commons, on March 5th, 1880; and Mr. Gladstone added, "It is the measure of our discredit and disgrace." Let the Government do its duty, and without further delay wipe away this discredit and disgrace.

WILLIAM HOYLE.

MARCH 16th, 1883.

The following letter, which appeared in the "Times" in reply to one from Mr. J. T. Agg-Gardner, will not require explanation, as the points to which exception is taken are summarised in my reply:

To the Editor of the "Times."

SIR,—May I ask the favour of a few lines in reply to the letter of Mr. J. T. Agg-Gardner, which appeared in the "Times" of March 31, touching the nation's drink bill? Mr. Agg-Gardner enters into some calculations with a view to minimise the drink bill; but a slight consideration of his figures will show their fallacy.

He assumes that one-fourth of the population of the country are total abstainers, and then proceeds to apportion the drink consumed among the other three-fourths, on the supposition that they are all drinkers. Now the population of the United Kingdom in 1882 was given as 35,278,999, and taking the census as our basis, of these about 15,000,000 would be under fourteen years of age. Then there will probably be from 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 pledged abstainers, and also from 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 who, though not pledged, are practically abstainers. I will say 3,000,000 of each of these, and adding the 6,000,000 to the 15,000,000 children it gives 21,000,000, and leaves 14,000,000, or two-fifths of the population, as the drinkers, instead of three-fourths as is assumed by Mr. Agg-Gardner.

Dividing the drink consumed among these 14,000,000 persons, it gives 5.4 quarts of beer to each, over three-sixteenths of a quart of spirits, and, adding foreign wines

and British wines together, it will give nearly three-sixteenths of a quart of wine weekly, or an expenditure for the 14,000,000 of about 6d. per day. Taking the entire population of the United Kingdom in families, it gives an expenditure of 7s. weekly to each.

Referring to the results of Sunday-closing in Scotland, Mr. Agg-Gardner says: "Mr. Hoyle mentions triumphantly a reduction of 8 per cent. in the consumption of spirits as a sequence of the Forbes Mackenzie Act." Now what I said was that there had been a reduction of 21 per cent. upon the passing of the law, and that, comparing the three years ending 1882 with the three years prior to the passing of the Act, they showed a decrease of 8 per cent., but then the population had only grown 29 per cent. Why does Mr. Agg Gardner quote the 8 per cent. without giving the years to which they refer? Taking the population of the three years ending 1882 into account the real decrease, as compared to the three years prior to 1854, was 35 per cent.

Mr. Agg-Gardner goes on to state that last year there was an increase of 4 per cent. in the cases of Sunday Even if this were so it would drunkenness in Scotland. be nothing to the point. The question is not as to what variation there may be in the returns of Sunday drunkenness in two years both under Sunday-closing, but what is the increase or decrease of drunkenness in years under Sunday-closing as compared with years when publichouses were not under Sunday-closing. I could give abundance of statistics upon this point, but I will only give the statistics relating to Glasgow; and, comparing the returns of drunkenness in Glasgow for the three years ending 1853, before the act passed, with the three years ending 1856, after the act passed, I find that during the former years the cases numbered 4082, whereas during the latter they were only 1466.

Mr. Agg-Gardner also states that in some districts of Ireland there has been an increase in the cases of drunken-The remarks above as to Scotland apply equally to Ireland. The comparison is not between two periods both under Sunday-closing, but between periods of Sundayclosing and non-Sunday-closing. If we take the threeand-a-half years prior to the passing of Sunday-closing in Ireland, in the districts where there was entire Sundayclosing we find that the arrests for drunkenness numbered 16,442, whereas for the three-and-a-half years after Sundayclosing came into operation they were only 6588, showing a decrease of 9854, or 60 per cent. exempted cities, where there was partial Sunday-closing only, the cases of drunkenness during the same periods fell from 9877 to 6573, or 33 per cent. What could be more conclusive as to the value of Sunday-closing?

Mr. Agg-Gardner also refers to Cardiff as showing some increase; but there are peculiar reasons which, did your space permit, might be given to explain this. If he had taken the whole of Glamorganshire he would have found, according to the report of Superintendent Wake, that the arrests for drunkenness during the last three months of 1881 were 134, whereas during the last three months of 1882 they were only 81, giving a falling off of 40 per cent.

Referring to legislation, Mr. Agg-Gardner speaks of our proposals as being the extinction of 180,000 licences, &c. I believe he has been a candidate for Parliamentary honours, and therefore ought to know that Sir Wilfrid Lawson proposes to extinguish nothing except the power of the magistrates as now given by law to force liquorshops into districts where the inhabitants do not want

them. Does Mr. Agg-Gardner object to this, and say that the people in a locality have no right to have a voice in what to such a vital degree affects their well-being? If so, then what becomes of the liberty of the people who are thus tied hand and foot to a gigantic evil? Does Mr. Agg-Gardner say that people need not go into the publichouses to drink? It may be so, but if they don't, does that save them from the burdens of taxation caused by the public-houses? Can they avoid the rows and brawls and danger and evils which flow in the train of the public-house? If not, then every evil and burden they suffer is an argument justifying their right to claim protection from what entails such fearful evils upon them. A proposal more just and more in harmony with those principles of true self-government which lie at the foundation of English law could not be conceived.

WILLIAM HOYLE.

May 3, 1883.

The following letter was written in reply to one which appeared in the "Manchester Examiner and Times," seeking to minimise the influence of the drink expenditure. One or two other points were also alluded to, and are referred to in my reply:

To the Editor of the "Manchester Examiner and Times."

SIR,—In the present deplorable condition of trade, anyone who can cast a ray of light upon the question, so as to be of service in elucidating the cause, and thereby prepare the way for the application of a remedy, is doing good service to his country. If, however, the occasion be used as an opportunity to obscure the light, and to make little of causes which are overwhelmingly demonstrated to be the most potent influences in producing the evil, such writing will tend to prolong, if it does not also aggravate, the misery.

Such were the reflections which passed through my mind on reading the letter of Mr. Thornely, in your issue of the 24th instant; and with your permission I will place before your readers a few facts which, to my mind, justify the remarks I have made.

Referring to the drink expenditure Mr. Thornely says: "A daily expenditure of 4d. per head cannot be called excessive." That is nearly a quart of beer per day per head, or a gallon and a half weekly; or, reckoning the three adults he includes in each family, about five gallons weekly per house. And this, he contends, is not excess!

Let us apply the same reasoning to our foreign trade. Last year our total exports were £ 198,000,000 in value,

a little short of £6 per head per annum, or a little under 3¾d. per head per day. Now, if, as Mr. Thornely in effect says, 4d. per head per day be not of much importance, then 3¾d. being a less sum will not be of much importance either, and we might therefore without much inconvenience dispense with all our foreign trade. Surely, folly could not further go!

If our export trade during the coming year were to increase to the extent of £50,000,000, would it not at once banish the depression which prevails in trade, and set all our mills going? Most assuredly it would.

But, supposing that £100,000,000 of the £140,000,000 spent in drink was turned into the home trade, and spent upon useful articles, would not that be twice as good? Certainly, and better; for it would not only bring £100,000,000 into useful trade, but it would free us from most of the burdens of taxation which now result from intemperance. We should thus put £100,000,000 more into trade, and take about £20,000.000 less out of the people's pockets in taxes; and thus, in a double way, trade would be helped, and then, too, we should be largely freed from the deplorable crime, pauperism, demoralisation, and misery which so extensively prevail in our land.

At the present time our mills and warehouses are groaning beneath the burden of stocks, and people, looking only at these, cry out, "Over-production." But if we take a walk down our streets we shall see a sad lack of clothing; if we peep into the homes of the people we see destitution to an alarming degree; and, looking upon these thinks, we say, "Under-production." How is it that the goods in the warehouses do not find their way upon the backs and into the homes of the people? It is

because the money which should buy the goods, instead of going into the till of the shopkeeper, the draper, the tailor, &c., goes into the till of the publican.

In Mr. Thornely's estimation, 4d. per head per day may not be much, but we have seen that it covers a greater sum than our entire foreign trade. It would clothe the people, and empty all the warehouses of their stocks, and it would bring in an era of peace and plenty such as has not been seen in the history of this or any other country; and last, but not least, it would remove the great block to political, moral, and social reform.

Mr. Thornely writes as if, were people to give up drinking, those now engaged in the liquor trade would be thrown out of work; but he overlooks the fact that the money now spent in drink would, if spent upon useful manufactured goods, employ at least ten times as many people as it does now. Let me give a fact to illustrate this.

At the Caledonian Distillery, in Edinburgh, they turn over yearly some £1,500,000 worth of spirits. They employ 150 hands. If the same amount of money was turned over yearly in a cotton mill they would employ some 7000 or 8000 hands.

If the £142,000,000 now spent in drink were spent in the purchase of manufactured goods, instead of employing some 330,000 (including the publicans), it would employ from 2,000,000 to 2,500,000 people. No wonder, therefore, that so many people are out of work.

Mr. Thornely is puzzled as to the barley. But if the barley were not wanted, farmers could grow wheat or some other kind of grain; for when I state that in 1877 we imported grain to the value of £63,000,000, the reader will see what a chasm there is for our farmers to

fill up before they get to the surplus point. A great deal is said about our imports exceeding our exports; but our grain imports might be much less if we did not destroy so much of the grain we ourselves grow in manufacturing drink.

As to the vineyards of France, &c., people could drink the wine unfermented, or use the raisins; or, if there was no demand for these, then let them appropriate the land to the growth of such produce as was in demand.

Mr. Thornely appears to have got so far as to realise the fact that the liquor traffic is unproductive. Let him pursue the subject, and he will find that it is not simply an unproductive traffic, but a traffic of destruction, entailing mischies and miseries upon the community that are beyond conception. In your excellent leader upon the opening out of Africa this morning, you state that if the scheme could be carried out, it would find employment for 200,000 more operatives; but if we at home would only spend our money rightly, it would find additional employment, not for 200,000 merely, but for 2,000,000.

I thoroughly sympathise with all that is being proposed to open out Africa to trade, and the people of Lancashire owe many thanks to those who are endeavouring to accomplish this; but whilst we attend to Africa let us not neglect home.

WILLIAM HOYLE.

DECEMBER 28th, 1878.

In a paper read by the writer before the British Association at York, it was argued that the drink expenditure was loss. In a friendly criticism which appeared from the pen of Mr. Bourne, it was contended that where the publican or brewer, who received the money from the purchaser of the beer or spirits, spent it productively the alleged loss did not result. The following letter was written in reply to this:

To the Editor of the "Church of England Temperance Chronicle."

SIR,—I am much obliged to your esteemed correspondent, Mr. Bourne, for his criticism of the paper which I had the honour to read at the British Association at York. I hope that before long he will find leisure to undertake his contemplated inquiries into the economics of the drink question. I have often myself been staggered by the magnitude of the figures which my investigations of the subject have compelled me to adopt; and if he pursues the inquiry upon the lines indicated in the second paragraph of his letter, I venture to say that he will be driven to similar conclusions with myself.

Mr. Bourne objects to my calculations as to the losses resulting from our drinking customs on the ground that when the liquor sellers spend the money which they receive, in a way that goes to augment the nation's wealth, allowance should be made for the same in any estimate that is made of the drink loss. For instance, in his illustration of the car-driver and the brewer his argument is:—The car-driver spends his half-crown with

Guinness the brewer, Guinness the brewer spends it in restoring St. Patrick's Cathedral, therefore the car-driver's half-crown was not wholly lost.

In thus arguing, your correspondent overlooks two facts which appear to me to invalidate his reasoning.

1st. That the spending of the money by the brewer upon St. Patrick's Cathedral was the beginning of a second transaction, and had nothing whatever to do with the first one, viz., the spending of the half-crown by the car-driver upon the drink.

2nd. In any business transaction, the buyer as well as the seller ought to have value received. When the car-driver spent his half-crown with the brewer, he had nothing to show in return, and maybe worse than nothing, for if he got drunk, neglected his work, beat his wife, and found the policeman a job, these would be a great deal worse than nothing. Let me illustrate what I mean.

I will suppose that the car-driver, instead of spending his half-crown with the brewer, had spent it with the baker, and in return for it had taken home to his wife and family half-a-dozen loaves of bread, How would the two-cases have stood? Let us compare them.

First case: The brewer gets 2s. 6d., which he spends upon the restoration of St. Patrick's Cathedral. The car-driver has nothing, except, maybe headache, or, perhaps something worse.

Second case: The baker gets 2s. 6d., which we will suppose he also spends upon the restoration of St. Patrick's Cathedral. The car-driver has six loaves of bread, which he takes home to his family. These loaves support the family, say, for three days, during which they get strength from them, by which they are enabled to labour and to produce perhaps four times as much as

the value of the loaves consumed. This is how wealth accumulates.

A consideration of the two cases will make it clear to the reader that the baker does quite as much for St. Patrick's Cathedral as the brewer; and he will further see that whilst in the first case the car-driver has nothing to show for his half-crown, in the latter case he has got six loaves of bread; therefore, in the first case, half-a-crown is lost to the nation.

No, says your correspondent, it is lost to the car-driver, but it is not lost to the nation, for did not the brewer spend it upon the Cathedral? I reply, the brewer ought to have had the half-crown to spend upon the Cathedral, and the car-driver ought also to have had value received. It is so in the case of the baker, and in all legitimate and wise expenditure it must be so. If the brewer, instead of spending it upon the Cathedral, had spent it in whisky, there would then have been, not half-a-crown, but five shillings lost, viz., the half-crown of the car-driver, and the half-crown of the brewer.

WILLIAM HOYLE.

SEPTEMBER 12th, 1881.

After the Drink Bill letter of 1875 appeared in the newspapers, two or three letters followed in the "Manchester Examiner and Times," controverting the point of the argument representing the money spent in drink as being lost to the nation. One or two other minor points were incidentally referred to. The following letter gives the argument sent in reply:

To the Editor of the "Examiner and Times."

SIR,—In recent issues of your paper I observe there are two letters, one by a friend from Stoke, and another signed "Temperate." Both writers regret what they are pleased to call the "exaggeration" and "want of moderation" which characterises the statements of temperance men, believing, as they say, that it does harm to the cause of temperance.

Now, I have no doubt that both these gentlemen are perfectly sincere in their statements about exaggeration, for the facts and figures connected with the intemperance of our country are so gigantic and so appalling, that they stagger one's faith, and we cannot realise them as possible. So it has been with myself. I have calculated, examined, and re-examined the figures, and thinking them wrong because of their magnitude, I have gone over them again and again, but only to arrive at the same result, until at last I have been compelled to yield to the logic of facts. It should be borne in mind that the figures are not mine; they are Government returns, which I simply calculate and tabulate; and in all cases I have given chapter and verse showing where they are got, so that anyone may follow and correct what is wrongly stated.

Neither of your correspondents, however, venture to impugn the correctness of my figures as to the sum total of the money expended in drink, but they try to show that a portion of the £143,000,000 which is thus spent goes to pay what would have to be raised in other ways, if it were not provided through the medium of the drink bottle, and the degradation and ruin of the people, and therefore they argue that it is not loss.

I am not aware that temperance men have ever denied the enormous revenues raised through drink. As Cardinal Manning said recently, "our Government are sleeping partners in the liquor traffic," and from it they raise some £32,000,000 out of the £76,000,000 revenue of the country. Should this be included in the loss? This is a question my former letter did not discuss, but, as it has been raised, I wish to make one or two remarks upon it.

I cannot better illustrate the matter of the drink revenue than by relating an anecdote which was told me a short time ago by a friend of mine. A gentleman, a friend of his, let a shilling fall; it went down one of the crevices close to the skirting board which encircles his room. The gentleman sent for a joiner, who cut off a portion of the skirting, and by diligent search they found the shilling. The joiner's bill for his share of the work came to five shillings, and the skirting of the room was damaged considerably more than the value of the shilling which had been lost.

Now, as a nation, we play the part of the simpleton who paid the joiner 5s. to find his 1s., and damaged his room in the bargain; for we pay £143,000,000 in order to raise a revenue of £32,000,000, and we damage the social and material fabric to such a degree thereby, that we lose four times as much by the mischief which

results as the sum of £32,000,000 which is thus raised. Let me point out one way in which this is done.

As stated in my letter in your issue of Monday last, the cost and loss to the nation of the liquor traffic during the last five years has not been less than $\mathcal{L}_{1,350,000,000}$; but, allowing a very liberal deduction from this, and taking the amount at $\mathcal{L}_{1,000,000,000}$, it follows that, to-day, the nation is $\mathcal{L}_{1,000,000,000}$, ooo poorer than it would have been but for the drink expenditure of the last five years; and if this money had been saved, and invested at five per cent. interest, it would have given $\mathcal{L}_{50,000,000}$ annually, or $\mathcal{L}_{18,000,000}$ more than our revenue from drink. I may say that this item of lost wealth has never been included in the indirect losses given in any of my drink bill calculations.

But intemperance not only damages the material fabric of the nation, by retarding the aggregation of wealth to such a degree that the interest and additional income therefrom would soon much more than repay the revenue derived from drink, but it causes other heavy indirect losses. There is the cost of our pauperism, crime, lunacy, vagrancy, accidents, disease, premature deaths, the loss of labour through drunkenness, the idleness and incapacity induced by drunkenness, the lost labour of our paupers, vagrants, criminals, lunatics, guardians of the poor, lawyers, relieving officers, gaolers, jurors, witnesses, &c. The loss from these are estimated to be equal to the money spent upon drink. The moral evils and the miseries are beyond calculation or estimate.

I come now to notice the vital fallacy in the reasoning of your Stoke correspondent. He argues that if those who get money from the liquor traffic appropriate it properly, it is not lost. Let us look at his illustrations:

The Joiner.—Supposing that the joiner, instead of spending his time in finding the lost shilling had spent it making, say, a small table, for which he gets paid 5s., as in the case previously referred to, the two cases will then stand thus:

First case: Joiner paid 5s., lost shilling found, nothing produced, skirting damaged more than the value of the shilling found.

Second case: Joiner paid 5s., table produced, nothing damaged.

Your correspondent carries the case farther. He says: "Let Mr. Hoyle ponder his own parable. If the joiner put 3s. out of the 5s. in the savings bank, or gave it to the publican, and the publican put it in the savings bank, then it was saved."

Now, the fact as to how the joiner disposed of his money does not affect the first transaction; it begins another transaction. Let us follow the case.

Your correspondent goes on to say that if the joiner carries 3s. of the 5s. to the publican, and the publican puts it into the bank, then nothing is lost. But suppose that, instead of spending the 3s. with the publican, the joiner goes to the timber merchant, and buys, say 3s. worth of timber, and the timber merchant puts the money in the bank, how do these cases stand? Let us compare them.

First case: Publican 3s., which he puts in the bank; joiner, nothing.

Second case: Timber merchant 3s., which he too puts in the bank; joiner, 3s. worth of timber.

I think these illustrations bring out the point which your correspondent overlooks, viz., that the buyer ought to have value received as well as the seller.

Let us take one of his other illustrations:

Colonel Deakin.—Your correspondent thinks that because Colonel Deakin bought the Werrington Estate out of the profits of his liquor-selling, that therefore the drink money paid to the Colonel by those who bought his liquor was not all lost. But suppose that the Colonel had been a cotton manufacturer, owning a thousand looms, and that he had been in business, say twenty years, and producing 250,000 pieces per year, or 5,000,000 in twenty years, out of the profits of which he bought the Werrington Estate, the two cases would then stand thus:

First case: Society, nothing; Colonel Deakin, Werrington Estate.

Second case: Society, 5,000,000 pieces; Colonel Deakin, Werrington Estate.

The Liquor Investment and the Cotton Investment.—I will put this illustration further. I will suppose your correspondent himself invests \pounds 100,000 in the liquor traffic, and that I invest \pounds 100,000 in the cotton manufacture. What is the result of these two investments upon the country, stretching over, say, a period of twenty years.

I will first of all take the cotton investment. The £100,000 would probably build a mill of about 80,000 spindles and 1000 looms, and would employ from 700 to 750 workpeople, covering 250 families, who would receive about £600 per week in wages. They would produce some 5000 pieces of cloth per week, or 250,000 per annum, or 5,000,000 during the twenty years. If these pieces were valued at 10s. each, it would give a turnover of £125,000 per annum, or two-and-a-half millions during the twenty years.

Let us now consider the £100,000 invested in drink. I should presume it will enable the investor to purchase, say, thirty public houses or beer-houses, and start a brewery and distillery that would supply them.

Connected with this brewery and distillery there would be, perhaps, thirty publicans (a) or beer-sellers and their servants, together with the workmen employed in the brewery and distillery, or about eighty people in all. This, I believe, will be beyond the facts of the case. Allowing that each house turns over £1000 per annum, it would give a turnover of £30,000 per annum, or £600,000 during the twenty years.

Now, what are the results to society from this investment?

- 1. To manufacture the drink consumed in the thirty houses, there would be grain wasted equal to four million 4lb. loaves.
- 2. Those who have paid much attention to public-houses will agree with me when I say that on the average each house turns out two persons daily who are in a state of intoxication. This during the twenty years, would sum up over 400,000 cases of drunkenness arising therefrom.
- 3. There are, on an average, directly or indirectly, six cases of pauperism resulting annually from each public-house. This would give over 3000 paupers applying for relief during the twenty years.
- 4. At least there are three convictions for crime before the magistrates coming, on the average, from each house
- (a) In the comparison between the cotton trade and the liquor traffic, the publicans should not be included in the case of the liquor-traffic, unless drapers and other sellers of cotton goods are included in the cotton trade.

annually, and then there would be the vagrants and the lunatics. The houses would necessitate an extra staff of policemen. The death rate of the population, according to Dr. Richardson, would be increased one-third. There would be neglect of work, neglect of families, rows, brawls, fights, cases of brutal violence, and perhaps murder: all these bringing misery, vice, and ruin that cannot be tabulated or estimated.

In the one case, when the money is invested in the liquor trade, there is nothing produced by the investment of the £100,000, except it be a flood of evils that the mind shudders to contemplate. In the other case, there are five million pieces of calico produced, and 250 families provided with comfortable maintenance.

Let the reader work out the problem. If thirty houses produce so much mischief, what will 150,000 produce? He will then be able to form some conception of the mischiefs and miseries produced by the liquor traffic.

WILLIAM HOYLE.

MARCH 29, 1876.

The following letter was suggested by the reading of the City Article in the "Times." It will sufficiently explain itself:

NATIONAL SOBRIETY AND THE REVENUE.

To the Editor of the "Times."

SIR,—May I be permitted to crave a brief space in the "Times" to lay before your readers a few thoughts and comments suggested by the perusal of two articles in your issue of this day's date. I refer, first, to the commercial leader in your City column, and, secondly, to the leader upon the letter of Sir W. Lawson, which is also in your issue of to-day.

In the former article, alluding to the revenue returns, you observe:

"The revenue is not improving as rapidly as could be wished, partly it would seem, because the habits of the people with reference to the consumption of intoxicating liquors have changed for the better to a certain extent. Serious as this alteration may be for the revenue, it is probable that the nation will reap the benefit of it in other ways."

In the same article from which this quotation is taken there are two very pertinent illustrations of the truth of the observations just quoted. You first refer in general terms to various indications of trade improvement, and you then give some specific facts touching the cotton trade, which I will quote. You remark:

"The home consumption of cotton shows an almost

equally remarkable increase. During the half-year the quantity taken weekly by spinners was about 68,000 bales, against 58,000 bales per week during the corresponding period last year. This great increase in the rate of consumption is all the more noteworthy, inasmuch as the shipments of piece goods to foreign countries were 222,914,000 yards, or 9½ per cent., less during the six months ended June 30, 1882, than in the corresponding period of 1881, showing that the home consumption of cotton goods must have increased materially this year."

The quotation just given pertinently illustrates the truth of your remark, previously referred to, that if the revenue of the country goes down through the people giving up drinking, the nation will reap the benefit in other ways. And so it will be; the drinkseller may temporarily suffer, but he will soon find his way into some other business, and instead of flourishing upon the ruin of the community he will contribute to its prosperity.

And while such a re-adjustment of money-spending would give a great impetus to trade, it would benefit the community in other ways, for it would lessen the incidence of taxation from pauperism, crime, &c., and further, the drunkards, paupers, criminals, vagrants, and others who are now a burden to the community would become industrious, and so, in place of taxation, which impoverishes the people, there would be production which would add to its wealth, and thus increase its trading power, and augment the resources which would be available for taxation.

It must necessarily be that the right expenditure of a nation's money will promote its industries. In your article you proceed to point out that while there has been a falling off in the revenue which has been derived

from drink, there has been an increase in the revenue derived from stamps, which represents income drawn from property and business. The figures you quote from the revenue returns are as follows:

"The receipts from stamps, however, have shown a satisfactory tendency to increase during the past quarter. From April 1 up to last Saturday the total received from this source was £3,687,000, against £3,377,000 in 1881, an increase of £310,000, or about $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

The observations I have made, coupled with the facts quoted from your leader, abundantly prove that the nation need have no concern touching the matter of the revenue because of the falling off in the drink sources. There may be some temporary inconvenience while the re-adjustment is going on; but as the drink revenue diminishes the nation's income from other sources will increase, and alongside of it there will be an augmentation of national wealth, which will increase the available surface from which the Chancellor of the Exchequer draws his supplies.

For many years, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer has propounded his Budget he has been able to congratulate the House of Commons upon the continued growth of the revenue. But there has always been a fly in the pot of ointment; the House and the nation have felt that the measure of the increase in the revenue has been the index of the nation's intemperance and demoralization. Money has come into the Exchequer, but poverty and too often ruin and death have entered the homes of the people.

In your leader commenting upon Sir W. Lawson's letter, you say that "the arguments against his proposal may be summed up into one, namely, that the exercise of

such a power would certainly be felt to be tyrannical." But further on in the article you meet the difficulty when you say that "politics know no rights but those consistent with the interests of the community." In this terse remark the whole question centres, and the discussion which will follow the passing of Sir W. Lawson's Local Option Bill will be as to whether localities should submit to the tyranny of having liquor shops with all their train of evils forced upon them, or they shall be free to protect themselves from such wrongs. The long existence of public-houses may, perhaps, predispose the popular mind to regard them as possessing some degree of rights; but, as you say, "there are no rights but those consistent with the interests of the community," and the long continuance of a wrong does not make it a right, but rather aggravates the wrong; and when the community, as they rapidly are doing, come to see how terribly at variance the drink traffic is with their interests they will conclude that to tolerate it in their midst is to endure the most hurtful and deplorable tyranny to which a people can be called apon to submit.

WILLIAM HOYLE.

JULY 20, 1882.

FOREIGN TRADE AND HOME TRADE.

From the "Times."

FIFTY years ago almost everybody believed in the doctrine of protection; but now, in this country, it is well-night universally accepted as an axiom that the material welfare of a country is best promoted by its producing that for which its climate, soil, mineral resources, population, and position best adapt it, and exchanging whatever of its products may not be required for its own uses for the products of other countries. In this way, the people in all countries get the most and best of everything.

Considerable disappointment has been felt that continental and other nations have not more generally trodden in our steps in the matter of free trade; but a little consideration will modify this surprise. It should be remembered that our own position as a manufacturing country is exceptionally favourable; our manufactures are well established; our workpeople, when sober, are noted for their industry; our climate is extremely well suited for manufacturing; we have coals, iron, and other minerals in plenty; our country, too, is central, and its insular character, by giving us an extensive seaboard with good and safe harbours within easy reach of our industrial centres, is highly favourable to the distribution of our manufactures among other nations. It should be remembered also that our greatness as a nation is regarded by other countries as being largely due to our manufacturing

prowess, and hence, naturally enough, they desire to follow in the wake in what they believe has been so serviceable to us; or in other words, they aspire to become manufacturing peoples like ourselves; and having regard to the necessities of taxation to support their large standing armies, and also to the difficulty of competing with us, interested parties find it an easy matter to lead a nation astray, and to induce them to impose such protective tariffs as will enable them to compete with us in their own markets. In doing this they overlook two things: first, that to protect any industry simply means to tax one portion of the population for the benefit of another; and, secondly, that the material interests of any people will be best promoted by their producing that for which their climate, soil, mineral resources, situation, and people are best adapted. It sometimes happens, too, that the imposition of a tariff upon outside manufactures gives a temporary impetus to home industries, which helps to strengthen the hands of the protectionists. It may be, nay, it invariably is the case, that this temporary impetus is accompanied by a rise of 10 or 20 per cent., or more, in the prices of goods; but while the temporary stimulus which is given to the protected industry is seen and felt. the rise in prices is comparatively unseen in its operation, or at anyrate, its connection with the protective tariff is not observed; hence what is seen eclipses that which is unseen, and so the people go in to support protection.

When we look at the earth, with its 1,400,000,000 of inhabitants, we cannot but be strongly impressed with the vastness of the field which is open for the development of industrial enterprise, and, excepting some of the nations of Europe, along with the United States and Canada, nearly all these countries are open to our trade.

The populations of protective countries will probably not exceed 250,000,000, or at the outside 300,000,000, leaving about 1,100,000,000 of the world's inhabitants, including the densely-peopled countries of Asia, all Africa, South America, Polynesia, and our own colonies, all open to receive our manufactures.

But it is impossible that progressive countries which are possessed of a fair share of natural advantages can long continue to impose such heavy protective tariffs upon the goods of outsiders, for the simple reason that, having their own produce to dispose of, they will only be able to get rid of it by taking the goods of other countries in exchange. Take America as an example. She must have a large outside market for her immense supplies of corn, cotton, rice, timber, and other products. This is necessary to her very life, for without it she will be deprived of the great natural advantages which her extensive territory gives to her; and if she continues to impose heavy tariffs upon the goods of other countries, it will cripple her power of exchange, and reduce largely the prices of the commodities which she herself has to offer. Nations who act thus injure themselves far more than they damage others by this policy of restriction; for they not only raise the prices of what they purchase very materially, but they also lower the prices of whatever commodities they have got to sell.

I have referred to these points because it appears to me that, with three-fourths of the world open to us, and with our own home market as well, we have no need to feel concerned about the tariffs of those nations which persist in imposing them, especially when we know that it is difficult for them, if they persist in this policy, to develop and utilise their own resources, which they can only do

TRADE. 87

by promoting a trade with other nations; and though their action may inflict upon us temporary inconvenience and possible loss, in the long run it will be to our material gain rather than loss, for the policy of protection cripples the development of enterprise in countries where it exists, and so will prevent them from ever becoming successful competitors in the neutral markets of the world.

During the last few years there have been many causes at work tending to depress our trade. We have had bad harvests at home, and there have been famines abroad. Too often there has hung over us the uncertainty of war, which has unsettled trade both at home and abroad. We have been lavish and wasteful in our expenditure, both nationally and individually. Other mischievous causes have also been in operation, and there has been the imposition or augmentation of tariffs by other nations, which, under the peculiar circumstances in which we have been placed, has affected us far more than in the natural course of things would have been the case. Hence the influence upon ourselves has been to make us somewhat irritable and impatient.

The important question then presents itself: What shall be done to improve things? If we could only persuade foreign nations to abolish their tariffs, this would, no doubt, whatever the ultimate result might be, give to our trade a temporary fillip. But they will not do this. What then? Shall we impose retaliatory duties upon the goods which they send us? There may be some interests in regard to which such a course appears more plausible than in others; but a departure from economic laws in any department must be fraught with evil to the general population, for it would be taxing one part of the population for the benefit of the other, and it would give an artificial

nursing to assisted industries which would repress their development, and render them less able to maintain their place in the future of the world's industrial battle.

We are in this position: We have three-fourths of the population of the world ready to take our manufactures; we have the other fourth placing protectionist duties in the way, but compelled by the necessity of disposing of their own produce to do a considerable trade with us. Besides this, we have our own home trade.

And here I would remark that, in considering the trade of the country, we are often so engrossed by the search after foreign markets in which to push our goods as to very nearly forget that there is such a thing as a market at home, and one which, were it but rightly developed, would insure such a demand for our goods as to free us from concern touching the tariffs either of one country or another. Let us consider a few facts in support of this.

The income of the United Kingdom is estimated by our ablest statisticians at over £1,000,000,000 yearly, but the total value of all the goods we have exported during the last five years has averaged only some £201,000,000 yearly. It is a very low estimate, therefore, to assume that to our home trade we owe the production of at least three-fourths of the nation's income. How vastly important it becomes, then, that our earnest attention should be directed, not only to our foreign trade, but to our home trade also, so as to insure its fullest and most economical development, and also that we should see to the right use of the wealth when it has been produced.

In 1880 the number of acres of cultivated land in the United Kingdom was 47,586,700. According to Mr. Caird, the total value of the produce which is annually got from this acreage is about £260,000,000, or about £5

cos. per acre. At Tiptree farm, belonging to the late Alderman Mechi, with land not of the best quality, the yield per acre was £12. The capital invested by tenants in land throughout the United Kingdom is estimated at about £5 per acre; at Tiptree the tenant's capital was £17 per acre. The average wages paid to labourers throughout the kingdom is estimated at £1 per acre; at Tiptree farm it was £2 10s. per acre.

Now, if the whole cultivated land of the country was farmed after the fashion of the Tiptree farm, instead of £250,000,000 being invested in land, there would be £750,000,000, and instead of employing 1,300,000 labourers there would be over 3,000,000 needed, and the produce of the land, instead of being only £260,000,000, would be £570,000,000, or more by £310,000,000 than I may add that a short time is at present produced. before his death Mr. Mechi stated that 1879 was the only year out of the last fifteen that his farm had not paid him for the outlay of capital upon it. It would, perhaps, be expecting too much to hope that such a result would be obtained throughout the United Kingdom in the immediate future as was attained at Tiptree farm by Mr. Mechi. but it is not too much to suppose that with such a reform of the land laws as would give security of tenure to farmers, and also encourage the investment of capital in land, the value of the produce of the land, if it did not reach £,570,000,000 yearly, would not be far short of it.

According to the twenty-fifth report of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Customs (see pages 64 and 65) the total value of food imported into the United Kingdom in 1880 was £161,080,231. Of this amount £102,569,227 was for food similar to what is grown in our own country, the balance being for rice and other articles which our

climate will not produce. From what I have advanced, therefore, it will be evident that we might ourselves easily grow the £102,000,000 of food which we import, and so the £102,000,000 that we now pay to other countries would be available for home manufactures.

But there is another evil in existence, which is far more injurious to our home trade than even the land laws. refer to the wasteful expenditure upon intoxicating liquors, with the great burdens and losses which result therefrom. At the late meeting of the British Association at York I had the honour of reading a paper in the Economic section, when I gave figures to show, that after making allowance for the revenue derived from alcoholic liquors, and also for such intoxicating liquors as might be used for medicinal and other purposes, there remained direct and indirect losses to the nation amounting to the sum of $f_{,220,000,000}$ annually. It may be too sanguine a view to take to expect that this evil will soon be so far remedied as wholly to save this loss to the nation; but it is not unreasonable to hope that an intelligent nation, having its mind enlightened and its conscience aroused upon the question, will ere long deal so effectively with it as to reduce the expenditure by three-fourths or more. If this were done, we should save the burdens resulting from drunkenness, loss of labour, crime, pauperism, disease, and other evils; and the aggregate result would be a saving to the nation of at least £, 150,000,000 yearly, which would be a further addition to the fund available for the home trade of the country.

If the facts I have adduced be correct, then it follows that the way to act, in order to secure the country a good trade, is to reform the land laws of the country and the laws relating to the liquor traffic. Such reforms would, as I have shown, augment the fund available for our home trade to the extent of from £250,000,000 to £300,000,000, which would be more than equivalent to doubling our entire export trade.

And of all markets a good home market is the one that is the most to be desired, for it is less affected by the many changes that are occurring in all parts of the earth. If war happened to break out between ourselves and France, or any other nation, it would greatly affect our shipment of goods to the East, but it would not affect the transit of goods between Yorkshire and London. Again, the reforms I have indicated would lead to a large reduction in the burdens of taxation. Poor and police rates would well-nigh disappear, and the burdens of the country being lightened, our farmers, as well as our manufacturers, would be better able to meet the competition of other nations.

But, if as a nation we give attention to the economic laws which should govern our being, we shall have little need to be anxious about foreign tariffs, for we shall secure for our manufactures an active home demand, which, while it is the measure of our material prosperity, will at the same time be an index of the nation's growth in frugality, and in those higher qualities which tend to make a nation really great.

WILLIAM HOYLE.

SEPTEMBER 28, 1881.



REMEDIES FOR THE EXISTING POVERTY, DEGRADATION, AND MISERY.

From the "Times."

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I have read with much interest the various contributions which have recently appeared in your columns from the pen of Mr. Potter; and also your review of Mr. George's book, "Progress and Poverty." It is gratifying that so much attention is being paid to questions which are of such vital interest to the well-being of society; but it is to be regretted that the remedies suggested for the evils which exist are so wide of the mark, and so little calculated to effect the end desired, viz., the sweeping away of the poverty, degradation, and misery which are so prevalent in our country.

In the concluding paragraph of Mr. Potter's last letter he says:

"The lot of the labouring classes is, as a rule, a hard one. There is no denying that. With a large number of them life is absolute misery. Though they may not actually starve, they are more or less hungry from one week's end to another. Their dull round of toil occupies the whole day, and their homes are the abodes of wretched nights seldom free from disease, aggravated by poverty."

Mr. Potter further says:

"Thoughtful men frequently ask how it happens, with

all our vast sources of wealth, so much poverty, degradation, and misery should exist. My answer is, simply because labour is not adequately paid for, and the working classes are unable to obtain the food and necessaries which are required to nourish their health and physical energies. Low wages first of all abridge the comforts of the working man individually, and next, by limiting his power of consumption, prevent him encouraging and keeping in activity the labours of the other classes of industry."

Mr. Potter's picture of the position of a large section of the working classes of this country is unfortunately tootruthful, but when applied indiscriminately to the working classes generally it very grievously misrepresents them. It is a melancholy fact that there are large numbers of our working-class population who live, as Mr. Potter says, in "poverty, degradation, and misery;" but there are hundreds of thousands, nay, I may say millions, who live in comfort and happiness. Many of these reside in their own houses, they have money in the savings bank, the building society, or the co-operative stores, and many of their homes are models of neatness, comfort, and domestic happiness.

And these operatives who are so happy and comfortable are only earning the same rate of wages as those who are pictured by Mr. Potter as being in such degradation and misery. I speak, of course, for Lancashire. The question then presents itself: How comes it to pass that one section of the operatives of the country are found in such poverty and misery, whilst another section, earning no higher wages, are living in the enjoyment of plenty? The answer is plain: the difference is owing to the way they spend their wages. If those who are in misery begin to live and act

rightly, to shun the public-house and spend their money properly, they soon rise out of their misery and degradation, and, like the others, become happy and comfortable. I have seen hundreds if not thousands of them do so.

Before proceeding further, I wish to direct attention to three points.

- (1) During the last forty years our foreign trade has increased nearly 400 per cent. For the ten years ending 1840, the total exports of the United Kingdom amounted to £452,000,000 in value, or £45,200,000 per annum, whereas, for the ten years ending 1881, our total exports reached £2,214,000,000, or £221,400,000 per annum. In 1840, the population of the United Kingdom was 26,487,000, giving £1 14s. per head of exports. In 1881, the population was 34,929,000, or £6 6s. per head.
- (2) As a consequence of this great increase in our foreign trade, wages have risen very greatly. Since 1840 the wages of mill operatives have risen from 50 to 80 per cent. The wages of out-door labourers, masons, joiners, mechanics, &c., have gone up in like proportion. I could give facts to prove this; but, if Mr. Potter will read the speech delivered by Mr. Bright at Rochdale in November, 1881, on the occasion of the celebration of his 70th birthday, he will find abundant evidence to substantiate what I now say.
- (3) And whilst this expansion of our foreign trade and this increase in wages have taken place, there has been little, if any, increase in the cost of living. The cereal foods, wheat, &c., which are the staff of life, have at no time in the present century been so cheap as during the last eight years. Clothing never was so cheap as it is now, whilst candles, soap, tea, coffee, sugar, &c., are also much cheaper than forty years ago. It is true that flesh

foods, butter, cheese, &c., are dearer, and rents are somewhat higher; but taking the cost of living all round, it is less now than there were forty years ago.

Now, if trade and wages have so increased, and if the cost of living has lowered rather than advanced, and if, alongside all, the hours of labour have been materially reduced, it follows that the means of comfort are enjoyed by the working classes of the country to a degree never before known; and their happiness and prosperity ought to be in proportion.

It is argued that higher wages will lead to proportionate increase of trade. Where produce and manufactures do not rise along with wages, then increased trade ought to come, and will come, if the wages are properly spent. I have shown that since 1840 wages have risen from 50 to 80 per cent., and yet that the products of industry have not risen; and coupling with this the fact that our foreign trade has increased near 400 per cent., it shows that we ought now to have had a trade that would have banished poverty and misery from the land.

In this country, as Mr. Potter says, "we have vast sources of wealth," and it is too often the practice to refer to this great increase in the nation's wealth as a proof of its prosperity. Such a view, however, is but a partial one. A correct idea of national progress can only be arrived at by having regard to all the conditions which go to constitute that progress. The development of a nation's foreign trade, and the resulting augmentation of its wealth, are but two of these conditions; for, if when a nation becomes wealthy it appropriates its wealth to luxury, to self-indulgence and intemperance, its wealth then becomes the instrument of its demoralization and impoverishment. Here we have the main explanation of the

"poverty, degradation, and misery" which Mr. Potter laments.

The genius and energy of writers upon political economy have been directed chiefly to the elucidation of the laws which affect the production of wealth, and too little to the exposition of the consuming, or spending departments. Now, so far as economic result goes, waste of wealth is as hurtful to trade and prosperity when it occurs in expenditure, or consumption, as when it takes place in the process of production; nay, it is often more so, for, whilst the laws affecting production, in respect of the evils of waste, equally affect consumption, it often happens that with the economic loss resulting from improvidence, is coupled the degradation of the consumer; and besides this, there are often other grievous losses and evils entailed upon the community.

The power of production at the present day in the various industries of the nation, is at least eight or ten times as great as it was 150 years ago; that is, 100 individuals, aided by the appliances of machinery and of science, will produce as much or more to-day than 1000 persons could produce then. This increased power of production is the measure of the increase of available comforts, and if there be only due industry and reasonable economy exercised along with it, distress and poverty would hardly be possible. Let us try to find out wherein our shortcomings consist.

Economically considered, there are three ways of spending money. 1st. So as to yield a productive return; 2nd. So as to yield no return at all; or 3rd. So as to yield a mischievous return.

These points may be illustrated and proved by supposing the case of three men. I will call them A, B, and

C. Each of the three when at work earns 30s, per week. A is a steady and thrifty man, living upon 20s, weekly, and saving 10s, weekly. This, with interest and compound interest, amounts in five years to £140. The money is invested in building, &c., and with the rents therefrom, and the continuance of his savings, in twenty years he may have saved over £900; and, adding the income from his investments to his 30s, per week of wages, he will then have an income of 50s, per week or more.

B is a different character to A. He spends all his income in living up to the fashion. He must be fashionable in dress, in his apartments, and in his diet he is extravagant. The result is, at the end of twenty years he is as poor as at the beginning: he has saved nothing. The chances are that he will have run into debt.

The third man, C, is a different man to either A or B. Out of his weekly income of 30s. may-be he spends from 10s. to 15s in drink, and perhaps 1s. or 2s. on tobacco. He frequently gets drunk, and neglects his work. His intemperate habits injure his health, and he is sometimes away from work either through illness or accident. Many a time he is out of work owing to his dissipation, and perhaps is obliged to trouble the parish for relief.

Comparing the case of B with that of A, their respective expenditure tells upon the current trade of the country alike. But A spends his income so as to be productive, whilst B does not. Each year, therefore, A helps trade more and more, because his wealth constantly accumulates, and his investments proportionally increase. But there is no accumulation in the wealth of B, and therefore no augmented help to trade.

In the case of C matters are still worse; for the money

is not only spent unproductively, but destructively. Money is squandered, food is wasted, health is injured, work is neglected, mischief is often done, increased taxes and burdens result, whilst trade and commerce get no help, and the social and moral well-being of the people are greatly deteriorated.

Now A not only helped current trade, but his expenditure was largely reproductive, and so benefited the future.

B helped current trade; but there was no reproductiveness in his expenditure, and therefore no cumulative help to trade.

In C's expenditure there is neither present help to trade nor future reproductiveness. On the contrary, whilst the present is nil, the future, instead of being an accumulation of wealth, is a piling up of burdens which have to be borne by the taxpayer. And so further damage is done to trade because money is taken out of the pockets of the people that ought to go to help trade.

In the light of these facts and reasonings, let it be borne in mind that during the last ten years the population of the United Kingdom have spent $\pounds_{1,364,000,000}$ upon drink, or nearly twice the amount of the national debt, and when it is remembered that this expenditure represents about an equal sum of indirect loss in the ourdens and mischiefs arising from drinking, or a total of direct and indirect cost and of resulting loss of over $\pounds_{2,700,000,000}$, it will show the terrible character of the burden which has been weighing down the nation's industries during the last ten years. No wonder, therefore, that there should be poverty, degradation, and misery. How could it be otherwise?

But if the C's in the country had followed the example of the A's, and if the B's in society had only striven to save a little, instead of spending so much of their incomes in making a show, where would have been the "poverty, degradation, and misery" of which Mr. Potter speaks? It could not have been. Instead thereof, in every home there would have been comfort and plenty, and the trade of the country which has so long been depressed would have been flourishing and profitable.

There are other reforms which the country needs, but I venture to say that without a reform in the habits of our population, including both rich and poor, the uplifting of the masses is an impossibility; but with this reform secured, poverty, degradation, and misery would soon be things of the past.

In conclusion, I must apologise for the length of this letter, but the question is one of paramount importance. As you say in your leader of to-day, social questions are coming to the front, and it is important that the action taken in respect thereto should be based upon sound principles and carried out upon correct lines. I have, therefore, trespassed at length upon your indulgence, feeling assured that without the reform indicated in this letter, all other reforms will lead us deeper into the quagmire of poverty, degradation, and misery.

WILLIAM HOYLE.

SEPTEMBER 25th, 1882.

II.

SIR,—I am glad to see from Mr Potter's letter in your issue of the 3rd inst. that he recognises that there is another phase of the question touching remedies for

poverty, &c. It is to be regretted that writers should sooften ignore this, the vitally important phase of the question, and advocate a something which can hardly ever possibly serve the purpose for which they contend, but which may often result in producing mischief.

Permit me, before I go further, to disclaim any sympathy with low wages, or with causes that produce them. I am as much in favour of high wages as any man, but improved wages cannot be conjured into being by the passing of resolutions. Wages are the workman's share of the wealth that is produced by industry; and he ought to have a fair share of this. But the wages of industry can only be secured by realising the fruits of industry, and, therefore, whatever augments the trade of the country must increase the workman's chance of higher wages; and, on the other hand, whatever diminishes trade must necessarily lessen his chances of obtaining any such advance.

I have observed that the suggested remedy for poverty, viz., to demand higher wages apart from other things, is insufficient, and may be mischievous. Supposing that an arbitrary resolution were passed, to claim a universal rise of wages, and that this was agreed to, it would not, apart from other things, improve the position of the working man, for the simple reason that a rise in wages would involve increased cost of production, and consequently higher prices for goods to the extent of the increased cost induced by the rise in wages, and so the extra wages would be swallowed up in the increased expense of living, and the position of the workman would in no way be benefited.

But such an arbitrary rise in wages would be likely to result in mischief. I will illustrate how this would come

about, by reference to the cotton trade in which I am engaged. At the present time, as those who are engaged in this trade know, it is very unremunerative. Many spinners and most manufacturers are losing money. How has this come about? Simply from the fact that the demand for goods is not sufficient to take off the production at paying prices. As a consequence, some mills are stopped wholly, and others partially, and there is more or less of poverty and distress as the result. But I venture to say that for one case of poverty caused by the bad condition of trade, there are at least twenty cases caused by the intemperate habits of the people themselves.

The remedy suggested for this poverty and distress is to advance wages. Now, how would this operate?

In the first place, in regard to those whose poverty arises from dissipation, to increase their wages would only be to afford them greater facilities for indulgence. As you remarked in your able leader, "their spending power is illimitable," and much of what they spend is money wasted. A rise in wages would therefore give to them no help, whilst, being an increased draw upon trade without corresponding compensation, it would necessarily injure it. In this manner, therefore, it would prove mischievous.

But it would be mischievous on a much more extendedscale. Of the cotton goods manufactured in this country about six-sevenths are exported, and only one-seventh is used at home; or, putting the amount in figures, we have £80,000,000 worth exported and £13,000,000 or £14,000,000 worth (including 15 per cent for the cost of distribution) used at home.

Now, when manufacturers are losing money, they can-

not advance wages without also advancing the prices of their goods, and if the world will not take off our productions at present prices how would it be likely to do so if prices were advanced? Under such circumstances trade would go from bad to worse, and the poverty and misery sought to be alleviated would only be aggravated.

But there would be further evils resulting. In our foreign trade we are subject to the keen competition of other countries; and, as I have remarked, we have to rely for six-sevenths of our trade in cotton goods upon this foreign demand. And, if at the present time it is so difficult to compete with other countries, what would be our condition when the cost of production was still further enhanced. The result would inevitably be increased stagnation, a further stoppage of mills, and so workmen, instead of receiving increased wages, would get no wages at all.

Let us for a moment consider what would result if the remedy suggested by myself were attended to.

In my former letter I pointed out that during the last ten years we have spent, in the United Kingdom £1,364,000,000 in drink, or about $136\frac{1}{2}$ millions yearly, so that, whilst we have spent £14,000,000 in cotton goods, our staple manufacture, we have spent nearly ten times as much upon drink.

Let us suppose that one-tenth of the drink expenditure, or £14,000,000, had gone in the purchase of cotton goods; this would have doubled our home trade, and would have relieved the necessity for pressing our goods so much upon foreign markets; as a consequence, stockswould have been kept down, and prices of goods would have been more firmly maintained, and to-day, instead of our mills being kept running at a loss, they might, and doubtless would, have been making a profit.

And if, alongside the transferring of this £, 14,000,000 of the drink expenditure to the produce of cotton goods. the remainder of the £136,000,000 had been appropriated to other and profitable uses, say £,20,000,000 to purchasing woollen goods, £5,000,000 to linen. £15,000,000 to buying additional furniture, £10,000,000 to cutlery, £, 20,000,000 to the building of new houses £20,000,000 to improving the land of the country, &c., and if, besides this, we had been freed from the costs and taxations resulting from the crime, pauperism, vagrancy, &c., arising from drinking; and if, further, the drink-made criminals, paupers, vagrants, &c., instead of destroying wealth, had been at work producing it, then, alongside the improvement in the cotton trade there would have been universal improvement in other trades; and with this all-round improvement in trade, there would have been a greater demand for labour, and it is extremely probable that along with this prosperity there would have been more or less a rise in wages.

I have already remarked that wages are the workman's share of wealth produced; but the wages of industry can only be secured by realising the fruits of industry. There is an opinion commonly prevalent that the way to get higher wages is to reduce the production of wealth. In an abnormal condition of things such a policy might temporarily succeed, but it would be very short-lived, for it is impossible that wealth can be divided if it be not produced. If, therefore, we want an increase of wages, we can only ensure it by securing an increased production of wealth.

There are only two possible ways in which this increase can be effected, and therefore there are only two ways by which wages can be permanently benefited, viz.:

rst. By the application of science, or by inventions in machinery, so as to lessen the cost of production, and thereby, for the same amount of cost or labour, to realise a greater amount of wealth; or,

2nd. By using greater industry and frugality, so as to increase the sum of wealth which is available for distribution.

As I observed in my former letter, the power of production at the present day is on the average eight or ten times as great as it was 150 years ago. Much of this increased power of production is due to the mechanical inventions of the past fifty years, and this power of production is the measure of the comforts which are available for man's use. Part of this increased production is swallowed up in providing and maintaining the more extensive and costly machinery which the increased production involves; but when all this is allowed for, there is an enormous surplus left, which, if rightly appropriated, would not only banish poverty from the land, but place our population in circumstances of comfort, if not of abundance.

When a survey is taken of the vast amount of machinery which the nation possesses for the production of wealth, and when, too, our enormous foreign trade is taken into account, it is not to be wondered at that there should be a feeling of disappointment bordering on soreness in the minds of many working men, that, amidst all this wealth-producing power, the poverty, degradation, and misery which exist should be so appalling; for, in a country so situated, such a state of things ought not to be, and their existence proves that there is something radically wrong in the conduct and arrangements of society.

A survey of the nation's history during the past fifty

years supplies a full explanation of the cause of this melancholy state of things. Let us briefly review it.

In the year 1830, the number of places in England and Wales where intoxicating liquors were sold was 50,442; in 1870 there were 135,720. In 1830 the intemperance of the nation was so widespread as to be universally deplored; and in order to check the evil the Legislature stepped in and passed the Beer Bill; but this made the evil worse. In 1834, a committee of the House of Commons, presided over by Mr. Buckingham, declared that:

"The loss of productive labour in every department of occupation, to the extent of at least one day in six throughout the kingdom (as testified by witnesses engaged in various manufacturing operations), by which the wealth of the country, created as it is chiefly by labour, is retarded or suppressed to the extent of one million out of every six that is produced; to say nothing of the constant derangement, imperfection, and destruction in every agricultural and manufacturing process, occasioned by the intemperance, and consequent unskilfulness, inattention, and neglect of those affected by intoxication, producing great injury in our domestic and foreign trade."

This was only one of a number of declarations made by that committee showing the evil effects which our drinking customs exert upon the national well-being. It might have been expected that after such decided declarations as to the evils of intemperance something would have been done by the Legislature to check it; but unfortunately there was not. At that period there was some excuse for this, for nearly everybody believed not only that these drinks were useful, but that they were essential for health; and they endured the evil because of the supposed good which they imagined was got from the drink.

For the ten years ending 1829, the yearly expenditure-upon intoxicating liquors in the United Kingdom averaged! £58,890,000, whilst for the ten years ending 1881, it averaged £136,481,000 yearly. In 1825, the middle of the former decade, the population of the United Kingdom was 22,258,598, in 1875 it was 32,749,167. Calculating from these figures I find that whilst the population increased but 47 per cent, the consumption of intoxicating liquors grew 131 per cent.

Before we can accurately estimate the effect of the drink expenditure of the present day, as compared to that of fifty years ago, it will be needful to take into account one or two facts which have an influence thereon.

In the first place, fifty years ago, beer was the national beverage, and at that time almost everybody believed that it was not only beneficial, but essential to health and life. The consequence was, nearly everybody used it as a daily beverage. At that time temperance societies were unknown, but now nearly every town and village in the United Kingdom, and almost every Sunday-school have their Bands of Hope or Temperance Societies; and the belief as to the utility of intoxicating liquors is largely dispelled. As a result of this, large numbers, probably not less than 4,000,000 of the population, are professed abstainers; and large numbers more, though they make no profession of abstinence, yet rarely or never take intoxicating liquors.

Secondly: As the outcome of this change of opinion, beer has largely ceased to be the national beverage, and has been superseded by tea, coffee, and cocoa, especially by tea. From 1820 to 1830, the consumption of tea was 24,920,114 lbs. annually, whereas for the ten years ending 1880 it averaged 144,191,164 lbs., an increase of

480 per cent. Or, taking it per head of the population, the average consumption from 1820 to 1830 was 1 lb. 22 oz., and from 1870 to 1880 4 lbs. 6 ozs. The consumption of coffee has not increased to the same extent; in the former period it was about 8 ozs. per head, in the latter 15 ozs. Cocoa was practically not in use prior to 1830, now, its consumption is about 5 ozs. per head per annum.

If we take the ten years prior to 1830, we find that the average expenditure upon intoxicating liquors was £2 13s. per head yearly; whereas for the last ten years, ending 1881, it has averaged £4 3s. per head, being an increase per head of 56 per cent.

Now, if the consumption of intoxicating liquors at the present day averaged only the same per head of the population as it did before 1830, it will be clear that those who drink now, must drink much more than those who drank then, for the simple reason that many personsabstain now, whereas few abstained then. But when, besides this, the fact is borne in mind that there is 56 per cent. per head more consumed now than at that period, it follows, that if in 1830 there was so much of excess and intemperance, the excess and intemperance of to-day must be enormously greater.

Owing to the mechanical inventions which our countrymen have devised, and partly also owing to fiscal reforms in our legislation, our trade and wealth during the last 40 years has grown in a manner unparalleled in the world's history; and yet, as Mr Potter says, we have a large portion of our population in poverty, degradation, and misery. Whence does this arise? From lowness of wages? This cannot be the cause, for others who are earning no higher wages than those who live in such misery are living in comfort. The explanation of the

paradoxical position is found in the fact that side by side with the machinery for developing our wealth, the Legislature has promoted the legislation of another system of machinery which has ensuared our population, and, as the wealth of the country has grown and as wages have risen and hours of labour have been reduced, the temptations to intemperance have also been multiplied; workmen with their wages in their pockets have been beguiled into the public-house, and the wealth which should have secured their prosperity and comfort has been the instrument of their degradation and ruin.

Here, then, lies the explanation of the poverty and misery which exist in the country; and also of most of the crime and demoralisation which prevail. There are other causes of poverty. I do not deny these, but they are insignificant when compared with this cause, for when a traffic leads to the wasting every year of over £, 100,000,000 of the people's income, when it leads to idleness and neglect of work to such an extent as, on the authority of a Parliamentary Committee, "reduces or retards the nation's wealth equal to one-sixth of the wealth produced," and when, besides this, there are the burdens of taxation and other evils inducing costs and losses; and when it is remembered that all these various influences are constantly in operation, destroying the wealth available for distribution, and retarding the progress of our industries, there will need no further evidence as to the main cause of the poverty and misery which exist.

Mr. Potter enters at considerable length into the question of benefit societies. These societies reflect great credit upon the working classes; but this is not the questional transfer of the present the present

tion at issue; for there are multitudes of men who are in clubs who yet squander much, if not all their wages in But even in the matter of clubs a lesson may be learned as to the value of sobriety. Mr. Potter gives the total membership of benefit societies as being 4.367.000. with a capital of £10,787,000, or an average per head of £,2 gs. Among those which he gives are included the Rechabites. These are mostly hard-working men, but all of them abstainers. In this order there are 35,000members, and they have an invested capital of £,200,000. or £,5 14s. per head. If clubs would keep away from public-houses, and if the members would follow theexample of the Rechabites in abstaining from intoxicating. liquors, they would have less sickness, and fewer deaths. and consequently there would be more money accumulating in their coffers.

I agree with Mr. Potter as to the value of the co-operative movement. In the village near to where I reside (Tottington), as well as in the town of Bury, and indeed I may say all over Lancashire, it has been of immense service in promoting habits of thrift and providence; and, although not yet fully developed, the movement contains a principle which will no doubt ultimately solve the problem as to the due apportionment of the nation's income between capital and labour.

I have briefly referred to the history of temperance legislation during the past fifty years, and I have also supplied the application, and he that runs may read; for when a nation spends £136,000,000 a year upon drink, and sacrifices at least another £100,000,000 to make good the mischiefs which the drink expenditure produces, it is idle to say that its population cannot save money, and it is contrary to all economic law to expect that with

such waste trade can be good, or that we can escape poverty and misery.

In a speech made by Mr. Gladstone at Buckley some years ago, he laid down the maxim that it was the duty of the Government so to legislate as to make it easy for the people to do right and difficult for them to do wrong. But the policy of our Government from 1830 to 1870 was directly the reverse. On every hand public-house temptations were multiplied and drunkenness was increased. Our budgets went up, but it was at the expense of the morality and well-being of the people. Such legislation is at variance with the fundamental principles of right government, and contrary to the maxim enunciated by Mr. Gladstone. The remedy is plain: reverse the legislation which has proved so disastrous to the nation, and give to the working man the power to protect himself from those influences which ensnare, degrade, impoverish, and often hurry him on to ruin and death.

WILLIAM HOYLE

OCTOBER 7, 1882.

III.

SIR,—Permit me the favour of a few further remarks in reference to Mr. Potter's letter in the "Times" of Saturday.

I would first of all observe that I entirely agree with the concluding remark in Mr. Potter's letter, that the workman ought to have a fair share of the wealth which is produced. But it will be evident that the amount of the fair share which the workman receives must be dependant upon the quantity produced. As I said in my last letter, wages are the workman's share of what is produced. If little be produced there will be little to divide, for it will be impossible for the workman to get a share of that which does not exist.

It will be evident, therefore, that whatever tends to destroy wealth or to retard its production must necessarily tend to keep wages down, for the simple reason that it diminishes the amount of wealth that is divisible, and the only possible way in which any one can secure to the workman the proper benefit of his position in regard to wages is to see first, that there is proper industry in the development of wealth, and, secondly, due economy in the use of it.

Now, the purpose of the two letters which you have done me the honour to insert in your columns was to point out those habits of society which are at war with these fundamental principles, and which will need to be corrected before society can be free from the resulting poverty and misery. It is an error to imagine that higher wages can be secured by the passing of a resolution. Here is the defect of Mr. Potter's position. Wealth cannot be divided until it is produced; and, when we, as a nation, license a system of machinery that leads to the mis-spending and waste of f, 136,000,000 of the nation's income yearly, that tends to cause neglect of work, idleness, vagrancy, crime, disease, poverty, &c., in this way further retarding the development of wealth; and when, ir edition to the waste of money spent, and the loss in undeveloped wealth, we saddle ourselves with heavy taxes and burdens as the result of the crime, drunkenness, and pauperism, it must follow that these, all contributing as they do to the retardation and waste of wealth, must proportionately damage our trade and reduce the workman's chances of getting higher wages.

I trust, sir, that if your readers have done me the honour to follow the arguments and facts which I have adduced in this correspondence, they will have come to the conclusion that my case is made out. But it may not be improper for me, notwithstanding this, to supplement my arguments by a little corroborative testimony. This I will take from the proceedings of the Trades Union Congress held at Birmingham in August, 1868. At that Congress a paper was read in which occurs the following passage:

"The position of England, staggering in the greatness of her way, is at once ridiculous and sublime. We suckle fools because we chronicle small beer. We see more. This law of demand and supply, which spends 228 millions not in food, clothes, education,—not on factories of beef, corn, clothes, household necessaries, and knowledge,—but on that which neither satisfies nor reproduces. We see now what accounts for the million or two of paupers, for lowness of wages, &c. We cannot have capital and drink it; we cannot attend chiefly to pauper manufactories, and yet expect the other factories to flourish; we cannot expect the labourer to get enough corn when—

'Hell is so merry with the harvest home."

In the above paragraph, the whole question is put into a nutshell. As the writer says, we cannot have capital and drink it: we cannot have vagrants, idlers, criminals, paupers, &c., and divide the wealth which they should, but do not, produce; nor can we pay taxes, and at the same time pocket the money which the tax collector

takes from us. This is exactly the doctrine in these letters, and it is put very tersely. Your readers will be gratified to know that the writer of the paper from which the above extract is taken was Mr. Potter. It was read at a conference of Trades Unions held in Birmingham in 1868. It is to be regretted that this teaching, so vitally important to the economic welfare of the working classes, should not have been more frequently pressed.

Mr. Potter is right in his statement touching the £,228,000,000 of wealth which the nation losses yearly owing to our drinking habits; if this be so, what does it It involves that there is yearly a sum of $f_{,228,000,000}$ less as divisible among the population than there would be but for our drinking habits. be evident that the sum to be divided without the $f_{,228,000,000}$ must be much less than if it were added. There are about 7,000,000 families in the United Kingdom, and dividing the £228,000,000 among them it will every year give £32 11s. 5d. to each family. Here is the key to an advance of wages, and not only so, but along with it, too, the removal of the inducements to vice and demoralisation which so curse and degrade our nation. If we paid the £32 per family to be rid of this demoralisation, it would be well-spent money, but when the removal of the vice will also ensure such a magnificent economical gain as £,32 per family, surely to delay it stamps us as being a nation, if not of idiots, at anyrate of persons who are remarkable for the absence of wisdom.

It is a source of gratification to myself that in this discussion no attempt has been made to impugn the main argument having reference to the influence of industry and thrift in promoting trade, and also to the disastrous

mischiefs which are inflicted upon trade by the liquor traffic. Exception, however, has been taken to the fact that in the illustrations given in my first letter I did not sufficiently recognise irregularities in work and changes in the circumstances of life. It is true that circumstances change, and these changes may affect the details of either side of the argument; but they do not affect the general principles. I have used the figures in round numbers in order that there might be as little complication as possible in illustrating the principle contended for. who think them too high or too low, adopt their own estimates, and apply the argument accordingly. principle of the argument will be seen, and each reader can then apply it to the circumstance of life in which he himself may be found.

I cannot conclude without thanking you for your great kindness in throwing open the "Times" so freely to the discussion of this very important question.

WILLIAM HOYLE.

OCTOBER 23rd, 1882.

CRIME AND PAUPERISM:

A LETTER TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE, M.P.

RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR,

I MUST apologise for intruding upon your already overtaxed time by troubling you with this letter; but I feel that the matters upon which I address you are of such vital importance to the nation's well-being, that I take the liberty to urge for this communication your earnest consideration.

I have carefully read the remarks touching crime and pauperism which were made by you when addressing the Chamber of Commerce, at Leeds, on the 8th of last month. In that address you quoted figures to show that during the last twenty or thirty years, both pauperism and crime in England and Wales had greatly diminished. I venture to think that a further investigation of the subject may largely modify the opinions you then expressed; and, by your permission, I will subjoin a few reasons for this belief.

In order that we may rightly and fully understand the condition of crime to-day as compared with the crime of thirty or forty years ago, we must take into account the changes which have been made in the laws relating to crime, and also to the classification of crime. The following are the principal changes which have occurred.

1st. In 1847 the Juvenile Offenders Act was passed, by which larcenies (or thefts) committed by persons under fourteen years of age were transferred from the jurisdiction of assize courts to the summary jurisdiction of magistrates.

2nd. In 1850 the Juvenile Offenders Act was extended so as to include persons up to the age of sixteen.

3rd. In 1853 cases of aggravated assaults upon women and children were placed under the jurisdiction of the magistrates.

4th. In 1855 the Criminal Justice Act was passed, by which larcenies (or thefts) under five shillings, and in cases of simple larceny above five shillings, when the accused parties pleaded guilty, were placed under the jurisdiction of the magistrates.

In 1868 the provisions of the Criminal Justice Activere extended to embezzlements, and a great proportion of these crimes were thus removed from the class of indictable offences, to be summarily dealt with by the magistrates.

In regard to the influence which these changes in the law have had in removing the indictable crime of the country from the assize courts to the jurisdiction of the magistrates, permit me to say that this is not a matter of mere conjecture, but the results can be traced by reliable statistical data; for we find in the judicial statistics the cases of crime are given which were formerly dealt with by indictment at assizes, but which, owing to the changes in the law, are now dealt with summarily by the magistrates. The following table gives these particulars. The figures are taken from the Judicial Statistics for 1879 (the latest published), pages xviii. and 25.

Table showing the number of Persons who were summarily convicted before the Magistrates in 1879, and which prior to 1847 would have appeared in the Criminal Returns of the Country, but which, owing to changes in the Law, do not thus appear:

Larcenies committed by offenders under sixteen	
years of age,	5,98 3
Larcenies committed by adults, which were below	
5s. in value,	8,683
Larcenies committed by persons over sixteen	
years of age, who pleaded guilty,	7,443
Attempting larceny from the person,	2,943
Aggravated assaults upon women and children,	1,989
Cases of embezzlement,	685
Making a total of	27,726
Add to these the assize convictions of crime, -	12,585
·	40,311

From the figures just given, it will be seen that had the law in 1879 been as it was in 1840, the calendar of indictable crime, instead of showing, as it did, 12,585 convictions, would have exhibited 40,311. According to the returns of crime published in the Statistical Abstract (a Government publication), the convictions for indictable crime in 1840 were 19,927 as against these 40,311 convictions covering the same crimes in 1879. In 1840 the population of England and Wales was 15,730,813; in 1879, it had reached 25,165,336; so that whilst the population only increased 60 per cent., the crime of the country increased 102 per cent.

It may throw further light upon the crime of the

country, and it will confirm the figures already given, if we compare the convictions before magistrates now, with those of twenty or thirty years ago. In this comparison we cannot go further back than 1857, that being the first year when the cases tried before magistrates were published, and for a year or two the returns appear to have been somewhat imperfect. I will therefore take the year 1860, and contrast it with 1879. In 1860, according tothe returns published in the Judicial Statistics for that: year, there were 255,803 persons convicted of crime before the magistrates; in 1879, according to the same returns, there were 506,281 persons convicted; whether, therefore, we take the total cases of crime dealt with by the magistrates, or the cases of crime which, prior to 1847, were treated as indictable, all of which ought to be included where comparisons are instituted, we find that the crime of the country has very nearly, if not quite, doubled.

But, besides these changes in the law, there have been important changes made in other directions, which must have exercised considerable influence on our criminal calendar. I refer to the establishment of reformatory schools in the year 1854, and of industrial schools in the year 1862. The influence of these institutions will be seen when I state that between 1854 and 1880, upwards of 81,000 criminal and neglected children were consigned to them (see Twenty-third Report of Reformatory Schools, pages 258 and 316). Many of these, had they not been taken charge of by these establishments, would, doubtless, have found their way into our criminal calendar; but valuable as these institutions are, the necessity which exists for them constitutes a grievous blot upon our Christian civilization, for they only deal with the

RESULTS of our social evils. What the country needs is, the adoption of such reforms as will deal with the CAUSES of the evils.

During the last forty years many additional influences have been at work, which must have tended to prevent crime by rescuing juvenile criminals before they had got fairly launched, such as ragged schools, orphanages, &c., whilst the multiplication of Sunday and day schools, and of other educational agencies, must have greatly tended to check the development of crime. During the same period, too, as you so forcibly showed in your address, the trade of the country has grown by leaps and bounds. This improvement in the material condition of the people ought to have tended to a diminution of crime; and yet, despite all these influences for good, the crime of the country during the last thirty or forty years, has, as I have shown, well nigh doubled. Such a condition of things is a matter for the gravest alarm, and claims the earnest and serious attention of every philanthropist and statesman.

May I venture to trouble you by asking your attention to the returns of pauperism, to which you briefly alluded in the course of the address referred to. In that address, as reported in the "Times," you gave the number of ablebodied paupers in 1849 as being 201,000, as against 111,000 on the 1st of January of the present year; but, in considering these figures, it will be needful to recognise the exceptional character of the influences which at that time were in operation, arising from the fearful commercial panic of 1847, and the continental revolutions which occurred during 1848, the effect of these being to paralyse, for the time being, the trade of this country to a greater degree probably than has ever been known since, and so

temporarily pauperise a large number of people, and render the return of able-bodied paupers an altogether abnormal one. This is shown to have been the case by the fact that the year following, that is, 1850, the able-bodied paupers had sunk from 201,000 to 151,000, a decrease of 25 per cent. On the 1st of January, 1853, which would substantially indicate the condition of pauperism in 1852, the able-bodied paupers numbered only 126,000, showing a decrease from 1849 of 37 per cent.

Appended to this letter you will find two series of tables. The first one gives the pauperism for the three years ending January 1st, 1853, 1861, 1871, and 1881. The second one gives the money expended in intoxicating liquors, the cases of drunkenness, lunacy, convictions for crime, and the pauperism for each year from 1860 to 1881, so far as the returns are published.

If we compare the pauperism for the three years ending 1861 with that for the three years ending 1853, we shall find that from 1853 to 1861, the aggregate of pauperism increased 4 per cent.; out-door pauperism 2½ per cent., in-door pauperism increased 15 per cent., and the money actually paid in relief to the poor 11 per cent., whilst the population increased 9 per cent. During this period, therefore, pauperism on the whole somewhat declined.

Comparing the three years ending 1861 with the three ending 1871, we find that the aggregate of pauperism increased 23 per cent., out-door pauperism 21 per cent., indoor pauperism increased 32 per cent., and the money actually paid in relief to the poor increased 39 per cent.; the population in the meantime increasing 14 per cent. It may not be improper here to notice that for the three years ending 1861, our total export of goods to other

countries amounted in value to £379,000,000, whilst for the three years ending 1871 they reached £612,000,000, an increase of 61 per cent.

If we compare the three years ending 1871 with the three years ending 1881, we find that according to the returns the numerical aggregate of pauperism decreased 23 per cent., out-door pauperism decreased 30 per cent., whilst in-door pauperism increased 12 per cent., and the amount actually paid in relief to the poor grew 2½ per cent.; the population in the meantime increasing 12 per cent.

Comparing the three years ending 1853 with the three years ending 1881, we find that the aggregate of pauperism decreased 2 per cent., out-door pauperism decreased 13 per cent., whereas in-door pauperism grew 72 per cent., and the money actually paid in relief to the poor increased 60 per cent.; the population in the meantime having only been augmented 40 per cent.

If we examine the figures in Table II., it will be seen that excepting the cotton famine year of 1863, the year 1871 was the year of highest aggregate numerical pauperism, and that from 1871 forward, there was a continuous decrease, especially in cases of out-door relief. This decrease arose from two causes: 1st. The great improvement in the trade of the country, arising from our enormous foreign trade, which for the five years ending 1875 averaged in value £240,000,000 yearly; and 2nd, and chiefly, The stringent action of Boards of Guardians in offering to paupers the alternative of, no relief, or of going inside the workhouse.

In proof of this I may appeal to the instructions constantly issued by the Local Government Board in London through its official inspectors, and the experience of

almost every Board of Guardians throughout the country-I was a member of the Bury Board of Guardians for the ten years from 1870 to 1880, and I therefore speak from personal knowledge of the facts of the case; and though the aggregate of registered pauperism was lowered considerably, it is doubtful if real destitution was lessened; and hence, as I have shown, though, when estimating it numerically, for the three years ending 1881 as compared with the three years ending 1853, general pauperism decreased 2 per cent., in-door pauperism increased 72 per cent., and the cost of actual relief grew 60 per cent.; and, sad as the fact may be, it is nevertheless undeniable, that the number of in-door paupers in England and Wales. on the 1st of January, 1881, was greater, and the amount of money actually paid in relief to the poor during 1880 was greater than during any year in the history of the country.

The question here arises, how does it come to pass that in 1880-1 the money paid in actual relief to the poor in England and Wales is greater than during any year in the nation's history? It cannot arise from the dearness of clothing, for, during the year 1880, clothing was probably cheaper than in previous years, excepting, may be, 1879. Neither can it have arisen from the high price of food, for during 1879 and 1880 food was cheaper than during any two years of the present century, wheat being only 43s. 10d. per quarter in 1879, and 44s. 4d. in 1880, as against a general average of about 55s. The answer is:

1st. The great increase of in-door paupers, costing from 6s. to 8s. per head weekly; and of pauper lunatics, costing from 9s. to 10s. per head, as against out-door paupers, costing on the average from 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d. per head weekly. And

2nd. The increased stringency in the action of Boards of Guardians in striking off the milder cases of pauperism, and as a consequence, causing the pauper list to be far more largely composed of chronic cases, which are notoriously not only more costly, but more continuous than the milder cases, which prior to 1871, could obtain outrelief.

Referring to the question of pauper relief, the "Birmingham Daily Mail," in a leading article upon the subject, recently wrote: "There are now in the Birmingham Workhouse two thousand inmates, who cost something like 7s. 11d. per head weekly, whilst the others, out-door paupers, cost 1s. 33/d." And the "Birmingham Daily Post" wrote about the same time: "The house test is being pressed with a vigour which savours very strongly of cruelty." This is but a sample of what has been going on all over the country, and, had the system of relief in 1880 been as open-handed as it was in 1871, the aggregate number of paupers on the books of the poor law unionswould probably have been greater in 1880 than in 1871and thus the reduced roll represents not so much a diminished destitution, as an increased determination on the part of Boards of Guardians, wherever possible, to refuse relief to applicants.

If the figures in Table II. relating to crime be examined, the following facts will be manifest, viz., that 1876 was the year when there was the largest consumption of intoxicating liquors; it was also the year when there were the greatest number of apprehensions for drunkenness, and the largest number of convictions for crime; or, to put it in other words, the year 1876 shows more intoxicating liquors consumed, more apprehensions for drunkenness.

and a greater number of convictions for crime than any year in the nation's history.

The following table gives the figures relating to the consumption of intoxicating liquors, also cases of drunkenness and crime for the year 1860, and for each of the six years ending 1879:

	Money expended upon Intoxicating Liquors.	Cases of Drunken- ness.	Total Convictions for Crime.	Assaults.	Ind. Off. against Persons.
1860	85,276,870	88,361	255,803	86,444	1802
1874	141,342,997	185,730	486,786	123,819	2332
1875	142,876,669	203,989	512,425	122,913	2702
1876	147,288,759	205,567	526,915	122,441	2725
1877	142,007,231	200,184	519,839	115,314	2495
1878	142,188,900	194,549	538,232	111,876	2347
1879	128,143,864	178,429	506,281	99,093	2149

On comparing the figures in the above table for the year 1876 with those for 1860, it will be seen that there was an increase in the consumption of intoxicating liquors of 75 per cent.; in apprehensions for drunkenness of 132 per cent.; in the aggregate convictions for crime before magistrates of 106 per cent.; in cases of assault of 41 per cent.; and in the grosser crimes, viz., indictable offences against the person, an increase of 51 per cent., although the population had only grown 22 per cent.

If the figures for 1879 be compared with those of 1876 it will be seen that the amount of intoxicating liquors consumed during the former years decreased 13 percent, as compared with the latter; cases of drunkenness

decreased 13 per cent.; the total convictions for crime, 4 per cent.; assaults, 15 per cent.; and the grosser crimes, viz., indictable offences against the person, 22 per cent. The figures as to drunkenness and crime are taken from the Judicial Statistics for each year (pages 32 and 52).

In your address to the Chamber of Commerce at Leeds, you also referred to the enormous development of the trade and commerce of this country, and immense growth of its industrial wealth. The figures you gave proved this growth beyond the possibility of cavil. The student of history will be driven to admit that this is so, for from the time when, under the premiership of Sir Robert Peel forty years ago, those fiscal and industrial reforms were initiated by yourself and others, which mark that period as the most important epoch in the fiscal and industrial life of the nation, our trade and commerce has increased more than four-fold, and the wealth of the country has grown in proportion.

With such an enormous trade, and with such increased opportunities for the acquisition of wealth, and, further, with such an immense addition to the moral influences which have been brought into being, and which are so eminently calculated to improve the social life of the people, it would naturally have been expected that intemperance, crime, pauperism, insanity, and those deplorable brutalities which indicate the social demoralisation of a people, should well-nigh have disappeared from our land; but, instead of this, up to a period of four or five years ago these sad blots on the social life of the nation became yearly more and more aggravated, and, despite all the elevating influences which were at work, the process of demoralisation went on to an appalling extent; and it became evident to those who were struggling to reclaim

the masses that there was some cancer at work, eating into the very vitals of the nation, and that if this cancer was permitted to continue its deadly work, the future of the nation was fraught with darkness and peril.

What is the cancer which has been thus at work? Column r in Table II. furnishes the answer to this question. But it also suggests another question, which is this: Whence does it happen that there has been such an enormous increase in the consumption of intoxicating liquors? The answer is found in the fact that from the year 1830 to 1875, the legislation of the country has largely been in the direction of multiplying the facilities for drinking, and thus increasing the temptations to intemperance.

Prior to the passing of the Beer Bill in 1830, the number of houses in England and Wales where intoxicating liquors were sold was 50,442, but now these, so far as I can gather from the last report (1881) of the Inland Revenue Commissioners, number over 150,000. promoters of the Beer Bill in 1830 were led to pass that measure owing to the deplorable intemperance which then prevailed. The legislature hoped to remedy this by giving to the people facilities for obtaining cheap beer, which was then believed to be a necessity; and I am free to admit that much of the legislation which has been undertaken in regard to the liquor traffic since 1830, has been prompted by similar worthy motives, but the results in every case of extension have been disastrous in proportion to the increase of facilities for drinking. increase of drinking facilities has been so enormously great, and the ramifications thereof so widespread, that it has been difficult, nay, for a large portion of the masses of our population, well nigh impossible, to escape the pitfalls thus placed in their path.

As regards the duty of the legislature in matters affecting the struggle of the people for their own elevation. may I be allowed to quote from an address which was delivered by yourself at Buckley some years ago? In that address you remarked, that "it was the duty of the legislature to make it easy to do right, and difficult to do wrong." In regard to commercial matters, during the last forty years, the Government of this country has striven to do its duty. They have made the pursuit of trade and commerce as easy as possible, and the result is seen in our enormous trade and immense wealth; but it is as important that a nation should succeed in acquiring moral greatness as material wealth, for righteousness exalteth a nation, and, if so, its pursuit, like the pursuit of wealth, should be rendered easy. But is it not a fact that during the last half century our legislature has been multiplying the temptations to intemperance, and as a result the very prosperity which has followed the fiscal reforms initiated largely by yourself, instead of contributing, as it ought to have done, to the people's elevation, has too often been the instrument used to promote their demoralisation, impoverishment, and ruin? (a)

⁽a) Since penning this letter to Mr. Gladstone, I have been privileged to read the recently-published "Life of Mr. Cobden," by John Morley. On page 481 the following passage occurs:—

[&]quot;One obvious criticism on Cobden's work, and it has often been made, is that he was expecting the arrival of a great social reform from the mere increase and more equal distribution of material wealth. He ought to have known, they say, that what our society needs is the diffusion of intellectual light and the fire of a higher morality. It is even said by some that Free Trade has done harm

May I ask you to excuse me when I say, that for more than forty years, first as an operative, and then as an employer of labour, I have been actively connected with the industries of the country, and during the time, have taken no idle part in matters relating to the religious, economic, and social advancement of the masses. have often watched the prosperous careers of persons. who, by industry, thrift, and virtue, have raised themselves to positions of respectability and sometimes of affluence. On the other hand, I have frequently been compelled to be a spectator of the downward course to ruin of many who, lured by the temptations of the public-house, have been entrapped and led into habits of dissipation and vice; and, when I have contemplated the two courses. I have endeavoured to picture to myself how vastly different would have been the condition of this nation, if in the year 1830, when bewailing the prevalence of intemperance our legislators instead of multiplying the temptations had sought to remove them;—then, the position of those who by industry, virtue, and thrift have risen, would have been more secure, and those who have been ruined by the temptations planted around them by an erring legislature would have been saved, and to-day might have been side by side with us, not in the graveyard, or as paupers, or criminals, or lunatics, or idle vagrants, but as industrious.

rather than good, because it has flooded the country with wealth which men have never been properly taught how to use. In other words, material progress has been out of all proportion to moral progress."

How was it possible that moral progress could make headway when the whole genius of our legislation was directed to providing facilities by which the increasing wealth of the nation might find opportunities to indulge in intemperance and dissipation?

respectable, and happy citizens of this great empire; and the wealth of the nation, great as it is in many hands, would have been double the amount, and more generally distributed among the homes of our land.

Permit me in conclusion to express the hope that the few facts adduced will not be without influence in inducing you to apply your great powers to such a reform of the licensing system as will enable the people to protect themselves from the presence of the drink evil, and thus free their localities from the one great cause of the pauperism, crime, and social degradation, which is at once the scourge and disgrace of our land.

WILLIAM HOYLE.

NOVEMBER 3, 1881.

TABLE I.—ENGLAND AND WALES ONLY.

Year. Number of Paupers. Out-door Paupers. In-door Paupers. Amount paid in Actual Poor Relief. 1851 860,893 750,328 110,565 4,962,704 1852 834.424 728,011 106,413 4,897,685 1853 798,822 694,636 104,186 4,939,064 Total, 2,494,139 2,172,975 321,164 14,799,453 Av'r'ge 831,379 724,325 107,054 4,933,151 Population in 1852, 18,193,206. 1859 860,470 737,165 123,305 5,558,689 1860 851,020 731,994 119,026 5,454,964 1861 890,423 759,462 130,961 5,778,943 Total, 2,601,913 2,2228,621 373,292 16,792,596 Av'r'ge 867,304 742,873 124,430 5,597,532 Population in 1860, 19,902,713. 1869 1,039,549 876,478 165,324 7,644,307 1870 1,079,391 914,067					
1852 834.424 728,011 106,413 4,897,685 1853 798,822 694,636 104,186 4,939,064 Total, 2,494,139 2,172,975 321,164 14,799,453 Av'r'ge 831,379 724,325 107,054 4,933,151 Population in 1852, 18,193,206. 1859 860,470 737,165 123,305 5,558,689 1860 851,020 731,994 119,026 5,454,964 1861 890,423 759,462 130,961 5,778,943 Total, 2,601,913 2,228,621 373,292 16,792,596 Av'r'ge 867,304 742,873 124,430 5,597,532 Population in 1860, 19,902,713. 1869 1,039,549 876,478 163,071 7,673,100 1870 1,079,391 914,067 165,324 7,644,307 1871 1,081,926 916,637 765,289 7,886,724 Total, 3,200,866 2,707,182 493,684 23,204,131 <td>Year.</td> <td>Number of</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>in Actual</td>	Year.	Number of			in Actual
Total, 2,494,139	1851				
Total, 2,494,139 2,172,975 321,164 14,799,453 Av'r'ge 831,379 724,325 107,054 4,933,151 Population in 1852, 18,193,206. 1859 860,470 737,165 123,305 5,558,689 1860 851,020 731,994 119,026 5,454,964 1861 890,423 759,462 130,961 5,778,943 Total, 2,601,913 2,228,621 373,292 16,792,596 Av'r'ge 867,304 742,873 124,430 5,597,532 Population in 1860, 19,902,713. 1869 1,039,549 876,478 163,071 7,673,100 1870 1,079,391 914,067 165,324 7,644,307 1871 1,081,926 916,637 165,289 7,886,724 Total, 3,200,866 2,707,182 493,684 23,204,131 Av'r'ge 1,066,955 902,394 164,561 7,734,710 Population in 1870, 22,760,359. 1879 800,426 625,081 175,345 7,829,819 1880 837,940 648,636 189,304 8,015,010 1881 803,126 613,688 189,438 not p'blish'd Total, 2,441,492 1,887,405 554,087 15,844,829					
Av'r'ge	1853	798,822	694,636	104,186	4,939,064
Population in 1852, 18,193,206. 1859	Total,	2,494,139	2,172,975	321,164	14,799,453
1859 860,470 737,165 123,305 5,558,689 1860 851,020 731,994 119,026 5,454,964 1861 890,423 759,462 130,961 5,778,943 Total, 2,601,913 2,228,621 373,292 16,792,596 Av'r'ge 867,304 742,873 124,430 5,597,532 Population in 1860, 19,902,713. 1869 1,039,549 876,478 163,071 7,673,100 1870 1,079,391 914,067 165,324 7,644,307 1871 1,081,926 916,637 165,289 7,886,724 Total, 3,200,866 2,707,182 493,684 23,204,131 Av'r'ge 1,066,95 5 902,394 164,561 7,734,710 Population in 1870, 22,760,359. 1879 800,426 625,081 175,345 7,829,819 1880 837,940 648,636 189,304 8,015,010 1881 803,126 613,688 189,438 not p'blish'd	Av'r'ge	831,379	724,325	107,054	4,933,151
1860 851,020 731,994 119,026 5,454,964 1861 890,423 759,462 130,961 5,454,964 Total, 2,601,913 2,228,621 373,292 16,792,596 Av'r'ge 867,304 742,873 124,430 5,597,532 Population in 1860, 19,902,713. 1869 1,039,549 876,478 163,071 7,673,100 1870 1,079,391 914,067 165,324 7,644,307 1871 1,081,926 916,637 165,289 7,886,724 Total, 3,200,866 2,707,182 493,684 23,204,131 Av'r'ge 1,066,95 5 902,394 164,561 7,734,710 Population in 1870, 22,760,359. 1879 800,426 625,081 175,345 7,829,819 1880 837,940 648,636 189,304 8,015,010 1881 803,126 613,688 189,438 not p'blish'd Total, 2,441,492 1,887,405 554,087 15,844,829<		Populat	ion in 1852,	18,193,206.	
1860 851,020 731,994 119,026 5,454,964 1861 890,423 759,462 130,961 5,454,964 Total, 2,601,913 2,228,621 373,292 16,792,596 Av'r'ge 867,304 742,873 124,430 5,597,532 Population in 1860, 19,902,713. 1869 1,039,549 876,478 163,071 7,673,100 1870 1,079,391 914,067 165,324 7,644,307 1871 1,081,926 916,637 165,289 7,886,724 Total, 3,200,866 2,707,182 493,684 23,204,131 Av'r'ge 1,066,95 5 902,394 164,561 7,734,710 Population in 1870, 22,760,359. 1879 800,426 625,081 175,345 7,829,819 1880 837,940 648,636 189,304 8,015,010 1881 803,126 613,688 189,438 not p'blish'd Total, 2,441,492 1,887,405 554,087 15,844,829<	1850	860,470	727.165	122.205	5.558.680
Total, 2,601,913 2,228,621 373,292 16,792,596 Av'r'ge 867,304 742,873 124,430 5,597,532 Population in 1860, 19,902,713. 1869 1,039,549 876,478 163,071 7,673,100 1870 1,079,391 914,067 165,324 7,644,307 1871 1,081,926 916,637 165,289 7,886,724 Total, 3,200,866 2,707,182 493,684 23,204,131 Av'r'ge 1,066,95 5 902,394 164,561 7,734,710 Population in 1870, 22,760,359. 1879 800,426 625,081 175,345 7,829,819 1880 837,940 648,636 189,438 not p'blish'd Total, 2,441,492 1,887,405 554,087 15,844,829					
Total, 2,601,913 2,228,621 373,292 16,792,596 Av'r'ge 867,304 742,873 124,430 5,597,532 Population in 1860, 19,902,713. 1869 1,039,549 876,478 163,071 7,673,100 1870 1,079,391 914,067 165,324 7,644,307 1871 1,081,926 916,637 765,289 7,886,724 Total, 3,200,866 2,707,182 493,684 23,204,131 Av'r'ge 1,066,95 5 902,394 164,561 7,734,710 Population in 1870, 22,760,359. 1879 800,426 625,081 175,345 7,829,819 1880 837,940 648,636 189,304 8,015,010 1881 803,126 613,688 189,438 not p'blish'd Total, 2,441,492 1,887,405 554,087 15,844,829					
Av'r'ge 867,304 742,873 124,430 5,597,532 Population in 1860, 19,902,713. 1869 1,039,549 876,478 163,071 7,673,100 1870 1,079,391 914,067 165,324 7,644,307 1871 1,081,926 916,637 165,289 7,886,724 Total, 3,200,866 2,707,182 493,684 23,204,131 Av'r'ge 1,066,95 5 902,394 164,561 7,734,710 Population in 1870, 22,760,359. 1879 800,426 625,081 175,345 7,829,819 1880 837,940 648,636 189,304 8,015,010 1881 803,126 613,688 189,438 not p'blish'd Total, 2,441,492 1,887,405 554,087 15,844,829	1001		759,402	130,901	5,770,943
Population in 1860, 19,902,713. 1869	Total,	2,601,913	2,228,621	373,292	16,792,596
1869 1,039,549 876,478 163,071 7,673,100 1870 1,079,391 914,067 165,324 7,644,307 1871 1,081,926 916,637 165,289 7,886,724 Total, 3,200,866 2,707,182 493,684 23,204,131 Av'r'ge 1,066,955 902,394 164,561 7,734,710 Population in 1870, 22,760,359. 1879 800,426 625,081 175,345 7,829,819 1880 837,940 648,636 189,304 8,015,010 1881 803,126 613,688 189,438 not p'blish'd Total, 2,441,492 1,887,405 554,087 15,844,829	Av'r'ge	867,304	742,873	124,430	5,597,532
1870 1,079,391 914,067 165,324 7,644,307 7,886,724 Total, 3,200,866 2,707,182 493,684 23,204,131 Av'r'ge 1,066,955 902,394 164,561 7,734,710 Population in 1870, 22,760,359. 1879 800,426 625,081 175,345 7,829,819 1880 837,940 648,636 189,304 8,015,010 1881 803,126 613,688 189,438 not p'blish'd Total, 2,441,492 1,887,405 554,087 15,844,829		Popula	tion in 1860	, 19,902,713.	
1870 1,079,391 914,067 165,324 7,644,307 7,886,724 Total, 3,200,866 2,707,182 493,684 23,204,131 Av'r'ge 1,066,955 902,394 164,561 7,734,710 Population in 1870, 22,760,359. 1879 800,426 625,081 175,345 7,829,819 1880 837,940 648,636 189,304 8,015,010 1881 803,126 613,688 189,438 not p'blish'd Total, 2,441,492 1,887,405 554,087 15,844,829	1860	1.030.540	876,478	162.071	7.673.100
Total, 3,200,866 2,707,182 493,684 23,204,131 Av'r'ge 1,066,95 5 902,394 164,561 7,734,710 Population in 1870, 22,760,359. 1879 800,426 625,081 175,345 7,829,819 1880 837,940 648,636 189,304 8,015,010 1881 803,126 613,688 189,438 not p'blish'd Total, 2,441,492 1,887,405 554,087 15,844,829				165 224	
Total, 3,200,866 2,707,182 493,684 23,204,131 Av'r'ge 1,066,95 5 902,394 164,561 7,734,710 Population in 1870, 22,760,359. 1879 800,426 625,081 175,345 7,829,819 1880 837,940 648,636 189,304 8,015,010 1881 803,126 613,688 189,438 not p'blish'd Total, 2,441,492 1,887,405 554,087 15,844,829		1,081,926		165,280	7,886,724
Population in 1870, 22,760,359. 1879	Total,	\ 	l	·	
1879 800,426 625,081 175,345 7,829,819 1880 837,940 648,636 189,304 8,015,010 1881 803,126 613,688 189,438 not p'blish'd Total, 2,441,492 1,887,405 554,087 15,844,829	Av'r'ge	1,066,95 5	902,394	164,561	7,734,710
1880 837,940 648,636 189,304 8,015,010 1881 803,126 613,688 189,438 not p'blish'd Total, 2,441,492 1,887,405 554,087 15,844,829		Popula	tion in 1870	, 22,760,359	·
1880 837,940 648,636 189,304 8,015,010 1881 803,126 613,688 189,438 not p'blish'd Total, 2,441,492 1,887,405 554,087 15,844,829	1870	800.426	625.081	175 245	7 820 810
1881 803,126 613,688 189,438 not p'blish'd Total, 2,441,492 1,887,405 554,087 15,844,829					
Total, 2,441,492 1,887,405 554,087 15,844,829					0,015,010
	1001	803,120	013,000	109,430	not p blish a
Av'r'ge 813,830 629,135 184,695 7,922,414	Total,	2,441,492	1,887,405	554,087	15,844,829
	Av'r'ge	813,830	629,135	184,695	7,922,414

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	Money expended upon Intoxicating Liquors.	Cases of Drunken- ness.	Total Convictions for Crime.	Number of Lunatics.	In-door Paupers.	Out-door Paupers.	Total Number of Paupers.	Amount paid in Actual Relief of the Poor.
1860	£85,276,870	88,361	255,803	38,058	119,026	731,994	851,020	£5,454,964
1981	94,942,107	83,196	263,510	39,647	130,961	759,462	890,423	5,778,943
1862	88,867,563	94,908	272,969	41,129	143,191	802,975	946,166	6,077,922
1863	92,088,185	94,745	283,641	43,118	146,197	996,427	1,142,624	6,527,036
1864	103,720,012	100,001	300,731	44,795	137,807	871,482	1,009,289	6,423,381
1865	106,439,561	105,310	312,882	45,950	138,119	833,314	971,433	6,264,966
998	113,925,458	104,365	339,091	47,648	137,986	782,358	520.344	6,439,517
1867	110,122,266	100,357	335,359	49,086	144,629	814,195	958,824	6,959,840
8981	113,464,874	111,465	347,458	51,000	158,723	876,100	1,034,823	7,498,059
6981	112,885,603	122,310	372,707	53,177	163,071	876,478	1,039,549	7,673,100
0181	118,736,279	131,870	389,712	54,713	165,324	914,067	1,079,391	7,644,307
871		142,343	407,859	56,755	165,289	916,637	1,081,926	7,886,724
872	131,601,490	151,034	423,581	58,640	154,233	823,431	977,664	8,007,403
873	140,014,712	182,941	456,705	60,296	151,606	735,739	887,345	7,692,169
418		185,730	486,786	62,027	149,558	679,723	829,281	7,664,957
27.5		203,989	512,425	63,793	153,711	928,199	815,587	7,488,481
97.0		205,567	526,915	64,916	148,931	600,662	749,593	7,335,858
101		200,184	519,839	66,636	161,121	571,159	728,350	7,400,034
32.0	_	194,549	538,232	68,538	166,875	575,828	742,703	7,688,650
010	128,143,865	178,429	506,281	69,885	175,345	625,081	800,426	7,829,819
900	122,279,275	172,859	517,373	161,17	189,304	648,636	837,940	8,015,010
180		174,481	530,966	73,113	189,438	613,688	803,126	8,102,136
200	126,251,359	189,697	575.593	,	190,386	608,910	797,614	8,232,472

INDIRECT LOSS.

THE following epitome touching the indirect loss resulting from our drinking habits was given in a paper read before the British Association at York in 1881:

I HAVE already stated that the average yearly expenditure upon intoxicating liquors during the last ten years has exceeded £136,000,000, but besides this, there are indirect costs and losses resulting therefrom which are of a most appalling kind. There is crime, pauperism, lunacy, loss of labour, accidents, disease, premature death, &c.; and further, there is a general demoralisation of the population.

The following table gives an estimate of these indirect mischiefs so far as they affect the economic weal of the nation:

- I. Loss of labour and time to employers and workmen through drinking, estimated by the Parliamentary Committee of 1834 at one-sixth of the wealth produced. This would be one-sixth of £480,000,000, or £80,000,000. I will call it - - -
- II. Destruction of property by sea and land, and loss of property by theft and otherwise; cost of bankruptcies, &c., the result of drinking - - -

5,000,000

£,50,000,000·

III. Public and private charges for crime	
pauperism, destitution, sickness, ir	1-
sanity, and premature deaths arisin	g
from the use of intoxicating liquors	- 20,000,000
IV. Loss of wealth arising from the idle	e-
ness of paupers, criminals, vagrants	i,
lunatics, &c., numbering in all probabl	y
about 1,400,000, of whom one-half, o	
700,000 might work and produce	
say, £40 each yearly	- 28,000, 000
V. Loss arising from the non-productive	
ness of capital spent on drink, and o	
the non-productiveness of the capita	
employed in the drink trade, which is	
a few years if spent in a ligitimate	
way would accumulate and reach	
£20,000,000 or more annually -	- 20,000,000
VI. Loss of wealth arising from the un	
productive employment of the judges	
magistrates, lawyers, witnesses, police	
men, jurymen, gaolers, poor-law guar	
dians, clerks, rate collectors, &c., whose	
time is now employed through drink	
VII. Loss arising through the extra cost of	
religious, moral, temperance, and other	
social efforts and expenses needed to	
counteract the evils of intemperance	
counteract the cyns of memperance	
Total,	£138,000,000
<i>,</i>	25-55-550-500

If we add together the direct and indirect cost resulting from our drinking habits it gives a total of loss to the nation of £274,000,000. Deducting, say, £54,000,000

from this sum for revenue, and for what some persons might consider the needful use of these drinks in medicine or otherwise, it still leaves a sum of £220,000,000 as the annual economic loss to the nation in consequence of the drinking customs of our population.

When wealth is rightly used it always reproduces itself and gives an equivalent return in good of some kind, either in food to nourish, clothing to warm, houses to shelter, books to instruct, or in some other way. Intoxicating liquors yield no return of good, and therefore the money spent thereon is so much loss to the community.

If we summarise the total expenditure in alcoholic liquors, together with the indirect loss resulting therefrom since the passing of the Beer Bill, that is, from 1830 to 1879, fifty years, it will give us a more extended view of the fearful waste of wealth and consequent economic mischief which have resulted from our drinking customs. In this epitome, in order to allow for the revenue, &c., I will assess the indirect loss at only one half the amount directly spent in drink, and then taking the total amount of each period of ten years I will calculate interest thereon—not compound interest—at 4 per cent. per annum from the end of each decade to the end of the year 1879.

The following Table gives a summary of the number of gallons of alcoholic liquors of all kinds consumed in the United Kingdom during each period of ten years from 1830 to 1879 inclusive; also the money expenditure thereon during the same period, together with the population in the last year of each decade:

Ten years ending.	Population.	British Spirits. Galls.	For. Spirits. Galls.
1839	26,222,853	238,835,080	47,021,141
1849	27,669,579	213,849,961	38,306,362
1859	28,590,224	240,386,479	48,853,283
1869	30,913,513	207,354,312	67,221,637
1879	34,155,126	279,673,156	101,630,154
To	otal,	1,180,098,988	303,032,577

Wine.	Beer.	British Wines.	Total retail cost.
Galls.	Galls.	Galls.	£
64,912,407	6,643,693,764	75,000,000	762,698,754
62,380,478	6,268,915,542	75,000,000	717,208,512
65,501,611	6,759,166,212	100,000,000	817,041,512
117,771,416	8,216,360,470	135,000,000	1,020,677,801
167,386,717	10,535,074,558	170,000,000	1,360,687,902
477,952,629	38,423,210,546	555,000,000	4,678,314,481

The next table I will give shows the aggregate direct and indirect loss of wealth resulting from the drinking habits of the population of the United Kingdom during each decade from the year 1830 to 1879 inclusive:

Ten Years ending.	Direct Expenditure.	One half of Indirect Loss.	Total.
1839	£762,698,754	£381,349,377	£1,144,048,131
1849	717,208,512	358,604,256	1,075,812,768
1859	817,041,512	408,520,756	1,225,562,268
1869	1,020,677,801	510,338,900	1,531,016,701
1879	1,359,787,804	679,893,902	2, 039,681 ,706
Total,	4,677,414,383	2,338,707,191	7,016,121,574

The following Table shows the wealth which would have accrued to the population of the United Kingdom if the money wasted, as shown above, by the drinking habits of the people during each decade of the past fifty years had been invested at four per cent. per annum, simple interest. It illustrates very powerfully the cumulative loss of wealth owing to our drinking customs:

Adding this interest to the principal sum we get a total of £12,056,779,470, being the amount which has been loss to the nation in material wealth by our drinking habits during the past fifty years.

In a paper read before the Statistical Society in January of 1878, Mr. Giffen calculates that the total, capitalised value of all the property in the United Kingdom amounts to £8,500,000,000, so that it will be seen that had the money which has been expended in intoxicating liquors during the last fifty years been expended as it ought, the nation's wealth might have been double what it is, and leaving more than £3,500,000,000 to spare.

It will further help us to realise the enormous magnitude of this loss when I say that if we take the population of Great Britain and Ireland as given in the census of the present year, viz., 34,468,552 persons, and dividing the

£12,056,779,470 among them, it would give to each person a legacy of £350, and putting this out at 4 percent. interest it would bring in £14 yearly, or 5s. 4½d. weekly, to each inhabitant all the year round.

The figures just given relate only to the losses which the nation has sustained from our expenditure upon intoxicating liquors in the past, they do not include the £220,000,000 which I have shown that the nation is now annually losing by its drink expenditure. This of itself, if divided among our population, will give £6 8s., or nearly 2s. 6d. weekly to every person in the kingdom, and adding it to the 5s. $4\frac{1}{2}$ d., it gives 7s. 10½d. as the total weekly sum which each individual might have enjoyed but for our drinking habits.

It is hardly possible to conceive the prosperity which would have existed in this country, and the comfort and happiness which would everywhere have prevailed, had the vast resources which have been thus placed at our command during the past half century been rightly used. But, alas! instead of applying this vast wealth in providing for the comforts of our homes, and in promoting the material, moral, and intellectual progress of the nation, it has too generally been squandered in luxury, self-indulgence, dissipation, and intemperance, and thus the very agencies which were calculated and intended to multiply our comforts, stimulate our industries, and augment the social, material, and moral advancement of our people have been the agencies which have contributed to their demoralisation and impoverishment, and often to their entire ruin.

The facts which I have given will show how deplorable has been the influence of our drinking customs upon the nation's well-being, and what a paradise of material

abundance we might all have been dwelling in had our habits been in harmony with the laws of economic truth. Obedience to economic law must ever result in a constant, steady, and, under the favourable circumstances which we enjoy, a rapid increase of material progress, and disobedience thereto must result in the opposite; hence the prolonged stagnation which for several years has prevailed in our trade; and it is impossible that we can go on wasting one-fourth or one-fifth of the nation's resources, and in the wasting processes demoralise and deteriorate our people, without bringing upon ourselves not merely stagnation in trade, but in the end, as other nations have done before us, involving ourselves in permanent ruin.

In a brief address which was delivered in this room by the President of the Association, Sir John Lubbock, the question was asked. "What is the use of advance in science if it does not contribute to the happiness of man?" It is an interesting study to pursue the inquiry as to how many thousands of years it is since man began to live, and what may have been his habits in those primeval times; but the question as to how man lives. and how he ought to live to-day, is equally interesting. and certainly it is not less important, so far as concerns the happiness and well-being of the human race. observed in my opening remarks, economic science is the science which indicates the course of action needful in order to secure the maximum of material good. purpose is to collect and collate facts bearing upon man's material well-being. I would, in conclusion. therefore, urge that it is a science which has pre-eminent claims upon the attention of the members and friends of this learned Association.

TRADE AND PAUPERISM.

To the Editor of the "Manchester Examiner and Times."

SIR,—In reading over the address of one of the candidates for Manchester delivered in St. Michael's ward, reported in your issue of to-day, it occurred to me that in discussing public questions the true facts of a case should be put before an audience.

Those who listened to, or read, the address on the occasion referred to, would be led to conclude that the deplorable distress and proverty to which the candidate referred as existing in the country arose from the smallness of our trade in India and our other colonies as well as in the neutral markets of the world, "because of bad government, bad policy, and bad laws," and that what we needed was legislation that would correct these bad laws and give us more of the trade of the world.

The remarks led me to examine the returns of our trade now as compared to former years, and it may be interesting and useful to your readers if you will allow me to place the facts before them, and make some observations thereon.

Taking the three years ending 1852, and comparing them with the three years ending 1882, I find our trade to our principal colonies has developed as follows:

	Three years ending 1852.	Three years ending 1882.
India, ;	£20,748,117	£83,754,648
Australia,	9,631,814	38,308,866
Canada,	10,114,122	25,819,453
Cape of Good Hope,	2,613,276	21,198,314
Total,	£43,107,329	£174,081,281

From the above figures it will be seen that during the last three years the aggregate trade of our four principal colonies was more than four times as much as thirty years ago.

The following table gives the value of our aggregate exports to all parts of the world, including our colonies, neutral markets, and others countries. I give the figures for each year:

The above table shows that the total of our foreign trade is more than three times as great as 30 years ago, and that if we deduct the figures relating to our colonies, it will still leave our trade with other countries nearly three times as great as 30 years ago.

During the last few months, and, indeed for a year or two, trade has been depressed. Is this due to a falling off in our foreign trade? What are the facts? Our total exports for three years ending 1879 amounted to £583,273,737, whilst for the three years ending 1882 it

reached £698,550,286, being an increase for the three years of £115,271,549, or 19.7 per cent.

This brings us to the question which immediately concerns Manchester—the cotton trade. The Board of trade returns show that our total export of cotton goods for three years ending 1852 were 4,425,601,644 yards, whilst for the three years ending 1882 the amount reached £13,621,307,000 yards, or above three times as much as thirty years ago.

But what about recent years; has not the cotton trade lately declined? The following table, giving our exports of cotton goods for the three years ending 1882, as compared with the three years ending 1879, will show the facts:

	Yards.		Yards.
1877, -	3,837,820,850	1880, -	4,494,645,000
1878, -	3,618,665,300	1881, -	4,777,273,000
1879, -	3,724,648,800	1882, -	4,349,391,000
Total,	11,181,134,950	Total,	13,621,309,000

Exhibiting an increase of 21 per cent. in our cotton trade during the last three years, and being one-fifth more exports than were ever sent abroad during any three years in the history of the cotton trade. If we take the eight months ending August of the present year, I find we exported 3,042,902,600 yards of cotton cloth, as against 2,861,179,000 for the same eight months in 1882.

Taking the aggregate of the trade of the world, both imports and exports, with its population of 1,400,000,000, I find that in 1880 (the last returns published) it reached in value to £2,935,767,000, and of this amount the share

which our little island, with its population of 35,000,000, got was £634,289,000, or above one-fifth of the whole. And yet our people are in distress and poverty for want of trade!

Here let me refer to one or two facts relating to our poverty.

In 1852, with a foreign trade of £78,000,000, we paid in "actual relief of the poor" in England and Wales £4,897,685, whilst in 1882 with wages from 30 to 80 per cent. higher and a foreign trade of £241,000,000 we paid £8,232,472, being an increase of 68 per cent. in money paid for "actual relief," whilst our population had only increased 43 per cent.

As was said at the meeting referred to, "There is a mass of misery in this country;" and every Christian man and patriot ought to hang down his head in grief and shame. The question is, whence comes it, and what is the remedy for it? We have an enormous foreign trade, wages are comparatively high, food is cheap, and money, the machinery by which trade is carried on, is plentiful and cheap; we have thus all the conditions for good trade, and yet it is depressed, and we are burdened with a pauperism and misery that is distressing to contemplate. Under such circumstances, our distress and poverty can only arise from our dissipation and from the waste of our resources.

During the twelve years ending 1852 our drink bill averaged £72,000,000 yearly, whereas during the last twelve years it has averaged £134,000,000, or with an increase of 43 per cent. in our population we have had an increase of 83 per cent. in our drinking.

In the anti-corn-law agitation Mr. Bright and others used to picture the happy condition of our homes when the prosperity which would follow Free Trade should

dawn upon us; the people were to bid good-by to poverty and the workhouse, and yet, whilst in 1852 we had 106,000 paupers in workhouses in England and Wales, in 1882 we had 190,000, or 70 per cent. more. And yet our trade has been developed and our wealth augmented to a degree unparalleled in the world's history. surrounded as the people have been by the temptations of the liquor shop, the money which should have blessed them and stimulated our home trade has been spent in intemperance, and so has cursed and impoverished and often ruined them; and what with our enormous expenditure upon the drink, with the burdens of crime, pauperism, vagrancy, lunacy, disease, and the other resulting evils added thereto, the purchasing fund which should have enriched our home trade has been impoverished. $f_{134,000,000}$, or f_{14} per head, spent in drink, and about £,14,000,000, or 8s. per head, spent in cotton goods. how could it be otherwise?

And yet, a candidate who aspires to represent Manchester in Parliament, bewailing our pauperism, seeing 30,000 people in distress in the district where he is speaking, travels to India, to our other colonies, and to all the neutral markets of the world for his remedy. He is concerned to get our goods upon the backs of the Hindoos, but why not also clothe the poor children in St. Michael's ward? Why go moaning and pining about more foreign trade when we have such an enormous proportion of the world's trade now, and when we do so little for ourselves at home? Let the causes at home that destroy our trade, that desolate our homes, that impoverish and reduce our people to misery and often to ruin be dealt with, and then there will neither be 30,000, nor 300 persons in distress either in St. Michael's ward or any other ward in Manchester.

And when the people of Manchester, whose votes he is seeking, ask him to support such a change in the law as will give them the right to protect themselves from this dire evil, the candidate says: No! You shall not have the right of self-protection; you must bear the burdens, suffer the evils, pay the taxes, and endure all the misery and woe that the traffic may entail upon you, but I reject your claim to self-protection.

Those who have studied the statistics of the cotton trade will know, that if the cotton manufactures of the United Kingdom be divided into eight parts seven parts out of the eight are exported, or sent to foreign markets. and but one part is used at home. In the United States of America the people use 17th. of cotton per head yearly, whilst in the United Kingdom the quantity used is but about 5lb. per head yearly. For some time we have been exporting large quantities of cotton goods to foreign countries, and as a result the markets have been overstocked, prices have been depressed, and our merchants and manufacturers, instead of making money by the goods sent abroad, have been losing money. supposing that instead of using at home only one-eighth of the cotton goods we manufacture we had used two eighths, or one fourth, in such a case our exports to foreign countries would have been reduced, and the glut of markets would not have occurred; prices would have kept up to a higher level, and so our manufacturers, instead of losing money, would have made money, and the agitation which has been going on for a reduction of wages would never have occurred.

The argument here used in regard to cotton will apply to all other commodities, and to some much more forcibly than to cotton, because of the greater quantities of them which are used. A good home trade is the most useful and reliable of trades, and if aspiring politicians, whilst ransacking foreign countries for markets, would not forget that there is a home market, and would remove the causes that cause our people to go in rags, and so paralize our home trade, they will thereby best promote our industry, and also secure the nation's happiness and well-being.

WILLIAM HOYLE.

SEPTEMBER 27th, 1883.

The "Economist" of September 15th, 1883, had an article headed the liquor traffic, in which it was argued that the poor-rate in 1882 was less than in 1852, and also that there had been a decrease in the consumption of spirits. These facts were adduced as evidences of the decrease in pauperism, and of the reduction in our consumption of intoxicating liquors. The following letter was sent in correction of these points:

To the Editor of the "Economist."

SIR,—I read the article upon the liquor traffic in your last week's issue with much interest, and should have been glad if, from the facts and figures you gave, I could have derived the satisfaction which they afford to yourself; but I cannot.

You quote the fact that whilst in 1852 the poor's rate was 1s. 7d. in the £, in 1882 it was 1s. 2d. in the £. But in considering this it must not be overlooked that in 1852 the property assessed under Schedule A in England and Wales was £97,879,857 as against £154,711,410 in 1882. Now 1s. 2d. in the £ upon £154,711,410 indicates more pauperism than 1s. 7d. upon £94,879,857. Taking the money paid "in actual relief of the poor," the returns show that whilst in 1852, with a population of 18,193,206, we paid £4,897,685, in 1882, with a population of 26,406,820, we paid £8,232,472, showing an increase in population of only 45 per cent., as against an increase of 68 per cent. paid in actual relief of the poor.

You refer to the consumption of spirits as being less per head now than thirty years ago. But if the figures relating to England and Wales only be taken, to which my argument as to pauperism, crime, &c., referred, it will be seen that there has been a large increase. The following figures give the consumption of British and foreign spirits, wine, and beer in England Wales for the two years referred to. I also give the figures for the year 1876:

	British and Foreign spirits.	Wine.	Beer.
	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.
1852, -	- 14,020,608	5,439,481	638,645,196
1882, -	- 23,951,499	12,026,069	859,911,612
1876, -	- 26,381,374	15,446,948	1,019,942,856

From the above table it will be seen that the quantity of spirits consumed in England and Wales in 1876 was 86 per cent. more than in 1852, whilst the consumption of wine had increased 182 per cent., and beer 60 per cent., the population having grown but 33 per cent. The long and severe depression in trade from 1875 downward, coupled with earnest and incessant labours of temperance men, led to a reduction in the drink bill from £, 146,000,000 in 1876 to £, 126,000,000 in 1882; but even with this reduction the spirits consumed were 71 per cent., wine was 121 per cent., and beer 34 per cent. more than in 1852. If along with these facts we remember that in 1852 the consumption of tea was but 1.99tb. per head, whilst in 1882 it was 4.67th., indicating that as a beverage tea had largely supplanted beer, it will show how much the increase in the spirits, wine, &c., consumed must have been due to the habit of tippling. The fact referred to in your article, that the duty on spirits was increased from 7s. 10d. to 10s. per gallon still further aggravates the evil.

Permit me here to point out a fallacy which not unfrequently enters into the economic discussion of this question. It is this. The increased wealth of the nation is adduced as an argument to prove that though there be increased consumption, yet because of the greater purchasing power of the people there is less of excess, overlooking the fact that in regard to the use of alcoholic liquors the basis upon which excess is determined is a physiological and not an economic one, and is therefore little affected by any increase in wealth.

It is to be feared that the increase of wealth, instead of minimising, but aggravates the evil. During the Anti-corn-law agitation, Mr. Bright and others predicted the increased wealth which the establishment of Free Trade would bring, and that the increase of wealth would be the cure for pauperism, &c.; but with all our increase of wealth, the evils of intemperance, pauperism, crime, and the other evils which betoken demoralisation are far greater to-day than they were thirty years ago. As I said in my letter to the "Times," it is better for a nation to be pauperised owing to the trammels which are placed upon its trade and commerce rather than that it should be pauperised by the intemperance and demoralisation of its people.

WILLIAM HOYLE.

SEPTEMBER 18th, 1883.

The following letter was sent to the "Birmingham Daily Post," in reply to the remarks of that paper upon the author's statistics in his letter criticising Mr. Bright's speech upon the licensing question. This letter is statistically more complete than the one upon Mr. Bright's speech, hence it is given in preference to the other:

PAUPERISM, CRIME, AND LUNACY.

To the Editor of the "Birmingham Daily Post."

SIR,—Your issue of the 10th instant has been sent to me, containing an article in which you take exception to the statements in my letter to the "Times" as to the increase of "pauperism, crime, lunacy, and other evils, which betoken demoralisation," since the adoption of Free Trade. I will therefore thank you to allow me the privilege of reply.

In my letter to the "Times," for brevity's sake, I took the aggregate of the poor and police rates as given in the Statistical Abstract for 1882 (page 31). You demur to this on the ground that other items are included. I was aware of this, but I knew that these items did not much affect the relative proportions. In this letter, however, to remove your objection, I will not take returns containing various items, but only the individual items.

The separate items are not given in the Statistical Abstract, but many of them are given in the Report of the Local Government Board. On page 237 of this report there is a table which gives a separate yearly return

of poor and police rates dating from the year 1842 downwards. From this table I find that the amount actually paid in relief to the poor in 1852 was £4,897,685, whereas in 1881 it was £8,102,136, being an increase of 65 per cent. The amount paid for police rates in 1852 was £1,344,798, whilst in 1881 (the latest returns given) it was £3,588,308, showing an increase of 167 per cent. Adding the poor and police rates together, we get a total for 1852 of £6,242,483, whilst for 1881 the total amounts to £11,820,700, giving an increase of 90 per cent. the population having only increased 43 per cent.

But you say the number of paupers has not increased. Let us see. Turning to page 273 of the report already referred to, I find that on the 1st of January, 1871, the total number of paupers in England and Wales was 1,085,661. The report does not go back to 1852, but the Statistical Abstract for 1870 gives the numbers (see page 80), from which I find that in 1852 there was a total of 834,424 paupers; so that from 1852 to 1871 there was an increase of 251,237, equal to 30 per cent., the population having only grown 25 per cent.

Your readers will all be well aware that from 1870 to 1873 was the period when our trade and commerce attained the climax of its prosperity. The Corn Laws were abolished in 1849, and year by year afterwards the trade and commerce of the nation steadly grew until 1872, when our exports reached the total of £256,257,347, the highest amount ever reached. Now it will be manifest that if, as Mr. Bright predicted, Free Trade was to be the cure for pauperism, the period when our trade reached its highest prosperity should have been the time of lowest pauperism; but so far from this being the case, it was the opposite, for there were more paupers on the books in

1871 (excepting 1863, the year of the Cotton Famine) than in any year in the nation's history.

But in 1871 a change took place in the system of giving relief. Orders were sent from the Central Board in London to apply more rigorously the workhouse test; and in regard to able-bodied paupers, both in the house and out of it, to apply the stone-breaking and other tests. The poor-law inspectors visited boards of guardians to press these points upon them. County conferences were held with a view to ensure united action. not here writing off the book, for I was myself a poor-law guardian in Bury for the ten years from 1870 to 1880. and witnessed the whole proceedings, and on more than one occasion I felt compelled to raise my voice against the harshness of some of the proceedings. In this action I have not been alone, for you yourself some time ago. referring to the doings of the Birmingham Guardians. wrote that "the house test was being applied with a rigour that savoured very much of cruelty."

I wish here to put three questions.

ist. If Free Trade was a cure for pauperism, how came it to pass that when our trade and commerce had attained its highest prosperity, or thereabouts, there should be more paupers in receipt of relief than had ever been the case before?

2nd. Again, if no change had been made in the system of giving relief, how did it happen that on the 1st of January, 1871, for 917,890 outdoor paupers there were only 168,073 paupers in the workhouses; whilst in 1881, for 614,232 out paupers, there were 195,286 in workhouses.

3rd. Further, how did it happen that in 1871 1,085,661 paupers only cost £7,886,724; whilst in 1881, when

food, &c., was much cheaper, 809,341 paupers cost £8,102,136. The explanation is that the increased rigour of Poor-law Guardians has multiplied the paupers in workhouses, where they cost five or six times as much as they would if relieved outside; whilst the milder and less costly cases of pauperism are driven off the books altogether. If, instead of seeking to reduce the pauper list by making the terms of relief too hard for paupers, they had sought to remove the cause of pauperism, and so to reduce the list, it would have been much more in keeping both with common sense and right government.

One more fact touching pauperism, and it makes my heart sad to write it. From the forty-second annual report of the Registrar-General for England and Wales (see page xxvii.), I find that of the total number of deaths in 1879 one person out of every fifteen ended his days in the Union Workhouse, whilst in London one in nine died in the workhouse. Think of it! In the most wealthy city in the world, the capital of the foremost Christian country, one person out of every nine ends his days in the Union Workhouse!

In regard to crime, you say that the indictable crime of the country should only be the standard of comparison. But the action of the Legislature during the last forty years has been to remove much of the crime from the jurisdiction of assizes to be dealt with summarily by magistrates. If your readers turn to the Judicial Statistics for England and Wales for 1880, they will find (see pages xviii. and xix.) a list of 30,593 cases of crime which in 1852 were indictable, and had to be sent for trial to the assizes; but in 1879 these were dealt with by magistrates. And the general spirit of magisterial action, in regard to all crimes, has been in keeping with the changes in the

law; the desire has been to send as few cases as possible to the assizes. Under such circumstances, therefore, it would be absurd to take the indictable crime of the country as being the measure of its criminal condition.

You take exception also to the figures giving the convictions under the Education Act; but every school attendance officer will testify that cases of truant playing and neglect of school are almost wholly due to the drunkenness of the parents. But, you say, truant playing is not crime, and that cases of assault, &c., only ought to be taken. If two boys quarrel and one strikes the other and is summoned and convicted, you call that crime; but if he runs away from school for days and weeks, this is not crime. To me it appears to be a much greater crime, and certainly it measures a much greater degree of demoralisation.

In his Birmingham address Mr. Bright argued strongly in favour of education as a cure for intemperance, &c. Now, taking the three years ending 1860, I find there was an average yearly attendance in inspected schools in England and Scotland of 888,269, and the grants for these schools averaged £650,654, whereas for the three years ending 1881 the attendance averaged 3,720,104, and the grants £2,988,119. If therefore the carrying out of the Education Act did involve a few convictions, surely the influence of the Act in preventing crime ought to more than counterbalance these: otherwise it says little for the improving influence of education, and much for the demoralised condition of the people.

I will however leave the figures to which you object out of the reckoning, even though injustice is thereby done to the argument, and I will only take such crimes as indicate the grosser forms of social degradation.

The following Table, giving returns for the years 1860, 1876, and 1881, are taken from the Judicial Statistics for the various years quoted:

	1860.	1876.	1881.
Assaults, -	86,444	122,441	99,458
Drunkenness, -	88,361	205,567	174,481
Indictable Offer	nces	0.0	•
against the per	rson, 1,802	2,725	2,346
Deserting or neg		•	
ing to sur	port		
family, -		6,618	7,066
Cases of larceny		•	.**
theft,	37,377	39,482	50,799
Prostitution, -	6,694	9,104	8,925
Begging,		9,753	19,874
Having no vis			
means of sub	sist-		
ence,	3,090	5,619	6,044
Maliciously dest	roy-		
ing fruit trees,	&c.,14,877	23,103	21,028
Offences punisha	able		
as misdemean	ours 8,344	13,845	12,518
Offences under	the		
Vagrant Act,	6,186	12,958	14,079
Total, -	264,170	451,215	416,618

Money spent on

Intoxicating

Liquor, £85,276,870 £147,288,759 £127,074,460

Taking the 12 years ending 1852 the average yearly expenditure upon intoxicating liquors was £73,300,000.

whilst for the 12 years ending 1882 the yearly expenditure was £134,500,000, showing an increase of about 82 percent.

These painful facts and returns are corroborated by other returns equally painful; for instance, in the 26th Report of Reformatory and Industrial Schools, just issued, on page 22 there is a table giving the committals to prison in England and Wales for each year from 1861 to 1882. In the former year there were 103,343 committals, whilst in the latter year there were 175,360; showing an increase of 70 per cent.

Again, since the year 1844, 99,917 children have been torn from their homes because of the demoralised character thereof, and have been consigned to reformatory and industrial schools. Of these, over 66,000 have been sent away since 1870; the highest number ever sent in one year being 6579, which was in 1882.

From the above tables and figures it will be seen that after taking out from the returns the milder offences, and comparing only the grosser ones, the returns for 1881 still show an increase of 53 per cent. over 1860, the population having only grown 30 per cent. If the year 1876 be taken, which was the year of the greatest expenditure in drink, it shows an increase of 70 per cent.; there being a greater increase in drunkenness and in assaults and indictable offences against the person as the result of the drunkenness. The offences of vagrancy, desertion of families, and begging had increased in 1881, and were more than double what they were in 1860, proving how the heavy drink bills from 1873 onward had demoralised the nation.

The history of the past half-century proves to what a terrible extent the statesmen of the nation have gone astray, and how their actions have been fraught with the most bitter results for evil. The legislature has multiplied the temptations to intemperance more than threefold; for, whilst in 1829 in England and Wales there were only 50,442 public-houses, no beershops, wineshops, grocers' licences, or extra occasional licences, in 1881 we had 150,000 drinkshops and 40,000 occasional or special licences. (See appendix to the 25th Report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, page 9). The seed has been sown, and the harvest is now being reaped.

The facts and figures I have given are sad and painful in the extreme, and they prove beyond controversy that, notwithstanding the great benefits of free trade,—despite the progress of education, the labours of temperance reformers, Christian churches, Sunday-Schools, and all the other social influences for good which have been in such vigorous operation,—the evils of intemperance, pauperism, crime, and the other evils which betoken demoralisation, are, as I said in my letter to the "Times." far greater to-day than they were thirty years ago. These sad facts are an indictment not so much against my "countrymen" as against the statesmanship of its rulers: for whilst our statesmen have improved the laws relating to the trade of the country and snapped the fetters which bound its commerce, they have neglected the laws relating to the social life of the people; nay, they have given support to the laws which do mischief, and have multiplied the machinery of temptation and dissipation. making it difficult to do right and easy to do wrong; and so the blessings of free trade have been transformed into curses, and the wealth which should have contributed to the virtue and happiness of the people, has too often led to their demoralisation and ruin.

This brings us to the question: What is to be done? The remedy is very simple, and there is but one. Let our statesmen retrace their steps. Instead of promoting and upholding legislation that puts temptation broadcast in the path of the people, let them promote legislation that shall reduce temptation to a minimum, and so fulfil the true end of government as defined by Mr. Gladstone, which he said was "to make it easy to do right and difficult to do wrong."

Mr. Bright goes back to the year 1835 for his remedy, and after going back half a century for his light, he even rejects part of that, for Lord John Russell did not propose to tie the hands of Town Councils, but Mr. Bright does, since by his scheme Town Councils are not to be allowed to reduce the liquor shops more than onehalf. As I have before stated, 50 years ago there were only about 50,000 liquor shops in England and Wales: now we have 150,000, and a shoal of extra occasional licenses in addition. The Town Councils are to have power to deal with half of these, but when they have done this it will still leave 75,000, or 50 per cent. more than there were in 1829, with which they shall not be allowed to meddle, and which for ten years longer are to continue their work of ruin. How incomprehensible and how utterly opposed such action is to every principle of sound morals, right government, and of true liberalism.

As the outcome of the interview with Mr. Bright and others a general resolution was substituted by Sir Wilfrid Lawson for the Permissive Bill. The following are the terms of the resolution: "That inasmuch as the ancient and avowed object of licensing the sale of intoxicating liquor is to supply a supposed public want without detriment to the public welfare, this House is of opinion that

a legal power of restraining the issue or renewal of licences, should be placed in the hands of the persons most deeply interested and affected, namely, the inhabitants themselves, who are entitled to protection from the injurious consequences of the present system by some efficient measure of Local Option."

I am sure that your readers will agree with me when I say that in view of the concession involved in substituting a resolution for the Permissive Bill, and having regard to the appalling evils entailed upon the nation by the liquor traffic, and to the mighty growth which there has been in public opinion since the resolution was adopted, for the friends of temperance to entertain any proposal other than one which will give adequate effect to the resolution adopted, would be to be traitors not only to the interests of our nation, but to those vital principles which lie at the basis of true morality and of just government.

WILLIAM HOYLE.

September 15, 1883.

Immediately after the publication of the previous letter in the "Birmingham Post," the writer received an invitation to give an address under the auspices of the Birmingham Liberal Association the subject to be, "Problems to Solve: Social, Political, and Economical." The address was delivered October 10th, 1883. The former part of it was largely a repetition of the remarks contained in the letter to the "Post," and therefore need not be reproduced; the latter part is given entire, and may serve as a fitting supplement to the facts given in the letter:

PROBLEMS TO SOLVE.

I Now pass on to notice the class of reforms affecting so largely the physical, social, moral, domestic, and indeed every phase of the life of the people of this country, and the need for which is seen in the lamentable pauperism, crime, and vagrancy which disgrace the country; also in the questions what to do with our lapsed masses, how to find employment for our surplus population, how to secure better dwellings for the working classes, &c.: these, and many other problems are pressing upon us. How are they to be solved?

The theories of cure which have been in vogue during the past thirty or forty years have largely been theories of repression. Pauperism was to be eradicated by driving applicants to the workhouse, and giving them plenty of stones to break and oakum to pick; vagrancy was to be stamped out by giving the fellows an unwelcome bath, and making them work for their night's lodging and

breakfast before being allowed to go: crime was to be extinguished by establishing more complete surveillance over criminals; by having a register of all criminals kept in London, and photographs of them sent to all the police offices throughout the country. The Habitual Criminals Act of 1860, and the Prevention of Crimes Act of 1871, established these regulations and gave to magistrates extraordinary powers to deal with this class of And not only were magistrates empowered to deal summarily with these full-fledged criminals, but they were empowered on the same lines to stamp crime out in the bud; to this end power was given them to take criminally-disposed and neglected children from their homes and consign them to reformatories or industrial schools.

These are samples of the measures our statesmen have adopted in order to cure the social evils which have so terribly afflicted and disgraced our land; but, despite all they have done, the last seven years show a record of crime, pauperism, lunacy, vagrancy, beggary, and misery unsurpassed in the history of the nation; and I hesitate not to say, more by thirty or forty per cent. than was in existence thirty years ago, even after allowing for the growth of population.

Reference has been made to the enormous increase in the nation's wealth during the past half century; and the great error of our statesmen, economists, and social reformers has been, that they have placed too much reliance upon mere progress in material wealth as a factor in the development of social and moral progress: overlooking the fact that wealth needed a higher civilization for its own right appropriation. This was Mr. Bright's position in his advocacy of the repeal of the corn

laws. He argued that the abolition of monopoly was to be "the real cure for many of the nation's woes." was to be the measure which would place the people on "the fair stage where they could work out their own redemption from dependence, ignorance, crime, and Pictures of the Union workhouse premature death." were drawn in a way that led people to think workhouses largely due to the corn laws, and that when Free Trade was adopted they would be in small request. said, that "crime and poverty went hand in hand," and that as the repeal of the corn laws would get rid of poverty, its associate crime would be got rid of along with it. How different have been the results! Why have these hopes been so largely frustrated?

The great weakness of the political and economic teaching of the past half century has been, that it has very largely regarded the development of wealth as if it were the chief, if not the sole end of a nation's existence. and as if the quantity amassed was the measure of a nation's civilization. True civilization consists not in the mere amassing of wealth, but in promoting such social and national arrangements as will insure the physical health, the educational development, the social happiness. and the industrial and moral progress of the nation. Tis true, political and fiscal reforms have been largely developed, and have greatly augmented the wealth of the nation, but whilst the nation has been attending to these things, it has neglected to attend to the measures that influence the appropriation of wealth, and which affect the social life of the people; nay, our legislation has been antagonistic to social progress, for it has tended to multiply influences and agencies which promote the intemperance, degradation, and ruin of its people.

In his work on "Political Economy" (vol. ii., page 552), Mr. Mill, referring to the functions of Government, observes: "Even in the best state which society has yet reached, it is lamentable to think how great a proportion of all the efforts and talents in the world are employed in merely neutralising one another. It is the proper end of Government to reduce this wretched waste to the smallest possible amount, by taking such measures as shall cause the energies now spent by mankind in injuring one another, or in protecting themselves against injury, to be turned to the legitimate employment of the human faculties, that of compelling the powers of nature to be more and more subservient to physical and moral good."

In this passage Mr. Mill strikes the true key-note in regard to what is right legislation. He points out that Government should direct its attention to lessen the elements which neutralise the good that is being done, and to taking such measures as shall cause the energies now spent by mankind in injuring one another, to be made subservient to the physical and moral weal of the country. It is the neglect of this principle that has been fraught with such disaster to the nation. Mr. Cobden and his fellow workers in the great reforms which their labours were instrumental in securing, had hoped that the reforms secured would not only have been sources of material wealth, but instruments of moral progress; and his biographer, Mr. Morley, writes upon this point (see vol. ii., page 481):

"The perpetual chagrin of his (Cobden's) life was the obstinate refusal of those on whom he had helped to shower wealth and plenty to hear what he had to say on the social ideals to which their wealth should lead. At last he was obliged to say to himself, as he wrote to a

friend: 'Nations have not yet learnt to bear prosperity, liberty, and peace. They will learn it in a higher state of civilization. We think we are the models for posterity, when we are little better than beacons to help it to avoid the rocks and quicksands.'"

The student of history will have observed that many of the reforms of the past fifty years have been mere changes in the machinery of Government. Machinery may be ever so good, but its use consists not in its perfection, but in its application. The prime object of reform is not so much to mend the machinery of Government. as to improve the body politic, to elevate the social and moral condition of the people, to banish pauperism, -crime, and the other social evils which affect the country, and thereby remove the inequalities which prevail in the land, and secure to all the blessings of comfort and plenty which a bounteous Providence offers to us. the great social ideals to which all true reforms must tend. It is very well to improve the machinery of state. but if, when improved, it be wrongly applied it is all the more mischievous. It is well to establish freedom of trade, and thus augment the nation's wealth; but if side by side therewith there is created a machinery which ensnares the people and tempts them so to use the wealth as to involve their demoralization, misery, and sometimes their ruin, it were better for that nation to remain poor. No wonder that Mr. Morley, in his life of Mr. Cobden, should be led to observe, "That it had even been said by some that Free Trade had done harm rather than good, because it had flooded the country with wealth which men had never been properly taught how to use, and material progress had been out of all proportion to moral progress." (See vol. ii., page 481.)

But it was not simply that men were not taught to use their wealth rightly, though this would have been an evil great enough; it was that they were taught to use it wrongly. The evil has not been a merely negative one, but a positive one, for the whole legislation of the past fifty years upon the drink question (until recently) has been of a character to encourage habits of intemperance, to so surround and entangle the people with besetments to intemperance and dissipation as to make it very difficult to do right and extremly easy to dowrong.

The policy has been, multiply the temptations to intemperance, and then fine the drunkard or send him toprison. If he went on drinking till he or those dependent upon him were impoverished, let him be packed off to the If by their dissipated conduct they lost workhouse. their characters and became vagrants, needing a night's lodging, the policy was to make it unpleasant for them. and so drive them to barns, brick-kilns, hay-ricks, or anywhere else. If, when maddened by drink, or when impelled by hunger, they committed crime, then their names were to be put upon the black list, enrolled among the outcasts of the nation, and over them was to be set the ever-watchful eye of the policeman. And if their children rambled about the streets uncared for, they were to be sent off to Reformatory Schools, where they would be supported and trained at the expense of the good citizens of the community, and the parents relieved from the burdens and expense of their charge, and thusenabled to have more money and freedom wherewith to indulge in dissipation and hurry on their own ruin. Such has been the policy of our statesmen during the last thirty or forty years, and to this policy we may attribute

three-fourths, if not nine-tenths, of the social evils that so grievously afflict our land.

A few words in regard to the economic results of this mistaken and disastrous policy.

I have before stated that the power of production at the present day is probably eight or ten times as great as it was one hundred and fifty years ago. Much of this increased power of production is due to the mechanical inventions which have been devised; and, let this point be noted, this power of production is the measure of the comforts which are available for man's use, and if he does not enjoy them, it results either from lack of industry in the production or from waste in the use of Doubtless part of this increased production is swallowed up in providing and maintaining the more extensive and costly machinery which the increased production involves; but, when all this is allowed for. there is an enormous surplus left, which, if rightly appropriated, would not only banish poverty from the land, but which would place our population in circumstances of comfort and abundance.

But when men refuse to recognise the violations of economic law which are daily being perpetrated, and when, further, the increased wealth which improved machinery and free interchange in matters of trade give us, instead of being used for the promotion of human good is appropriated to luxury, self-indulgence, and intemperance, then wealth becomes the instrument of the people's demoralization and impoverishment. Here lies the explanation of the poverty and misery which exist.

During the entire period of the recent long depression in trade, some very remarkable economic phenomena have presented themselves. In the first place, the warehouses of the country have been filled with goods requiring purchasers, and side by side with these there have been multitudes of persons in distress and want, needing the goods which so overcrowded the warehouses. And then, further, there have been the banks with their coffers over-flowing with money seeking to be employed in carrying out the purchase and transfer of the stocks-in the warehouses to the backs and the homes of the people who were in want; at the same time wages have been comparatively high, and the price of food has been low, thus giving a large margin of the nation's income as available for investment in manufactured goods; and yet the desired trade has not come. How has this arisen?

There can only be one answer given to this question, viz., the one given by the "Economist" newspaper in its annual trade review in 1876. The "Economist" them stated that the dulness of trade arose from the fact that from some cause or other the means of consumers had become lessened; or, in other words, people had become so impoverished as to have no money with which to buy the goods.

What was it that had impoverished the people. There were several minor causes that had contributed to this, chief among which were the bad harvests of the country. The loss from this source was variously estimated in different years at from £20,000,000 to £50,000,000 per annum; but the main cause of impoverishment was this; the money which ought to have gone into the tills of the grocer, the draper, the tailor, the furniture dealer, &c., went into the till of the publican. £136,000,000 yearly thus spent, and another £100,000,000 sacrificed to atone for the mischief which the expenditure of the

£136,000,000 caused, could have no other result than to produce depression in trade. There was every element of trade prosperity present, except the buying element, but unfortunately that element, instead of applying itself to the purchase of the goods which filled the warehouses, wasted its resources at the public-house; for instance, £4 per head were spent yearly in drink, and but eight shillings on cotton goods, and so people were in poverty and rags, and manufacturers could find no market for their goods.

The question may arise in the minds of some persons, What does it matter whether the money be spent in drink or in manufactured goods, or in house-building, or in improving land, or, indeed, in any way? for, it is said, does not the money circulate in the country in one case just as much as in the other? Let us look at this point for a moment.

I will suppose the case of one hundred men, each earning \pounds_2 weekly. On an average the men spend 12s. per week each in drink, which unfortunately for many men is not extravagant. At the end of the year these one hundred men will have spent \pounds_3 120. Well, it is said, the \pounds_3 120 is not lost, for it is circulating through the country, and, therefore, what does it matter how it is spent?

Suppose, however, that instead of spending the 12s. weekly in drink, they put the money into a building club and invest it in building houses; the money would build twenty houses worth £156 each, and at the end of the year the £3120 would be circulating in the country just as was the case when spent in drink. In the one case there are £3120 circulating, plus nothing, in the other case there are £3120 circulating, plus twenty houses added to the wealth of the nation.

Let us pursue the comparison further. As a result of the £3120 spent in drink, there would probably be some hundreds of cases of drunkenness; there would be neglect and loss of work; there would often be cruelty and misery at home; there would be headaches, sickness. accidents; there would be neglect of families, pauperism, crime, vagrancy; there would probably be some addition of persons to the unemployed population of the country, and may be also some part of the families of the hundred men would find their way down amongst the lapsed masses of society. And there would further be the costs and burdens resulting from this condition of things; and the waste of labour and cost of striving to neutralise and remedy them. It is a low estimate to assume that from these causes £,2000 would be lost to society, in addition to the £3120 of direct expenditure, or over £5000 in all.

Let us follow the other expenditure in its results. In the first place, we find some twenty or more men set to work to build the houses. These, of course, would earn weekly wages, and at the end of the week, themselves or their wives would be off to the shops to purchase goods for their families; and besides this there would be the absence of the drunkenness and misery which resulted when the money was spent in drink.

In one case we have £3120 circulated, plus a further indirect loss of some £2000, all of which is abstracted from trade, plus resulting misery that is appalling.

In the other case we get £3120 circulated, twenty houses added to the nation's stock of wealth; employment found for twenty or more workmen; increased trade for the shopkeepers and manufacturers; a diminished taxation owing to the absence of the drink evils; and

ffurther, we get happiness to the families concerned, instead of misery and may be ruin.

In order fully to appreciate the economic influence of these two courses of action, we must carry the comparison into the second year. The one hundred men who kept off the drink start the year with twenty houses, valued at £3120, whilst the others have nothing. If these houses are let at 4s. each weekly, they will yield £200 per annum, or it is an addition to the men's income of £2 each yearly, for which the men do not work. The third year it would be more, and the fourth year more again, and so wealth would go on increasing, the demand for labour would correspondingly grow, and along with both there would be comfort and plenty instead of misery and ruin.

A moment's reflection will start the problem in the mind of every thoughtful person: if to redeem an expenditure of £3120 from drink and transfer it to other and legitimate channels, so much of economic and social good results, what would have been the sum of the economic and social good which would have resulted from the redemption of the whole of the drink expenditure of £136,000,000 yearly during the last ten years? In such a case we should not have been here discussing problems, social, economic, &c., for the problems would have been solved, and the evils associated with them would have disappeared.

So far as economic result goes, waste of wealth is as shurtful to trade and to the development of material progress when it occurs in the spending of money as in the production of goods. For example, if a man with an income of say 25s. weekly throws 5s. of it into the sea, it will be clear that he might as well only have an income

of 20s., or if he does what is the same thing, squanders it in a way that yields him no return of good, he would be quite as well off financially and economically if his wages were reduced to 20s. per week; provided no-portion of his income were squandered away.

But if the man spends his money in a way that not only yields him no return of good, but which, instead of good, entails evil upon him, upon his family, and perhaps upon the community at large, then by the extent of the losses and evils which result from such misspending of money, to that extent is the waste of wealth still further increased. If we assume that the damage resulting is equal in extent, say, to four shillings, it will be clear that society will be no better off than if the man's income were only sixteen shillings, for the simple reason that, besides the five shillings lost in the spending, there is four shillings lost in damage done.

It is an admitted fact in political economy that labour is the chief, if not the only source of value, or, in other words, of wealth. As a rule, things are valuable in proportion to the cost of their production. follow, therefore, that the labour of one week, if the income therefrom be properly expended, will create a demand for the labour of the succeeding week. fore, there were only the current income fund to fall back upon, this if properly expended, would keep the industrial ball rolling; but when we remember that there is an accumulated capital that seeks employment, and when we know that money rightly laid out, and labour rightly applied are constantly reproducing themselves, and adding to the capital stock which needs to find employment in purchasing labour, or the products of labour, which is the same thing, it will be clear that there must be something terribly wrong in our economical arrangements and habits, or it would not be possible for pauperism and destitution to have a place in our midst.

But when one-fourth or one-third of the nation's income is applied to purposes that yield no return of good, but often of harm; when we spend £,136,000,000 yearly in drink, and sacrifice £,100,000,000 more to make good the mischief which the drink does; and when in many minor ways we add to this waste, the total becomes a great one, and is a constant draft upon the trading or buying fund of the nation, and so it becomes impossible that the industrial occupations of the nation can be maintained, inasmuch as the fund needed to secure thisis so largely wasted; for we cannot both waste it and use it; and we may try to mend our poor laws, we may increase the repressive character of our criminal and vagrant laws, we may seek to get better dwellings for the working classes, we may labour to find work for our unemployed population, or reform our land laws, and improve the waste lands of the country, all good and many of them very good in their way, but they can never compensate for the waste of so much of the nation's income and wealth.

In an address which was delivered by your respected and able member Mr. Chamberlain in January of the present year, after dwelling upon the unequal distribution of wealth in this country, and contrasting the "wanton luxury and wasteful extravagance" of the rich with the "constantly pressing evidence of ever grinding poverty and unremitting toil," he went on to urge that it is our duty to do all we can "to level the distinctions which now separate class from class," and that we ought not "to refuse the very poorest of our fellow citizens every

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facility to better his condition" or deny him the "advantages which education brings in its train."

Whence come this grinding poverty and unremitting toil, this unequal distribution of wealth? How is it that there are so many very poor of our population? And whence comes it that they have such great difficulty to escape from their poverty? It is because our legislature has upheld and multiplied the temptations to dissipation The liquor traffic is a machinery for wasting the substance both of rich and poor, and for inducing the "ever-grinding poverty" and compelling the "unremitting toil" which Mr. Chamberlain laments and so anxiously desires to see removed. And how are these evils to be removed? The remedy is very simple, and there is but one; we must remove the cause thereof. Our statesmen in regard to this matter must retrace their steps, and instead of promoting and upholding legislation that puts temptation broadcast in the path of the people, luring them into habits of intemperance and dissoluteness. which make both material and moral progress impossible, and grinding poverty and unremitting toil necessary, they must remove the temptation, and so fulfil the true duty of Government by "making it easy to do right and difficult to do wrong."

It has been said that it would be much better if; instead of looking to legislation for reform, the people could be lifted up in moral stamina, so as to enable them to withstand the temptations that beset them, and so, despite the evil influences which surround them, live lives of virtue, industry, and sobriety. Such a supposition involves an absurdity, an impossibility. It assumes that the Government of a country may be degraded enough to lead the people in the wrong path, and the people be

virtuous enough to walk in the right one. Morality needs to be practised at the top as well as the bottom of the social scale. Had such a thing been possible, would it not ere this have been practically accomplished? for has there not been teaching enough during the past half century to ensure this? and is not the truth of our principles virtually universally acknowledged? And yet, alas! with all our teaching, with many auxiliary helps, and with a universal conviction and admission of the truth of our principles and of what is the right path of duty, people are ever going wrong, and, as I have shown to-day, in many most important features of a true healthy society, we are worse than we were thirty years ago.

If my readers have been able to follow the facts and arguments which have been adduced, they will probably have come to the conclusion that the social questions which give to our statesmen and philanthropists so much concern would have no existence were it not not for causes that we ourselves set in operation. The question of how to secure good trade, ensure fair and steady wages. provide work for our unemployed population, remove the inequalities of wealth and poverty which exist, how to banish pauperism and vagrancy, and largely reduce crime and lunacy, how to lift up from degradation the lapsed masses of our country, how to secure better dwellings for our working classes, with other problems, are all bound up with the question of the drinking habits of the nation; remedy this, and all the others will practically disappear.

In last Saturday's "Times" (October 6) there is a letter from General Neal Dow, touching the condition of the State of Maine as it was before the passing of the Maine Law, and as it is now; showing that from being a poor, wild, drunken, lawless State, it had become one

of the most successful, prosperous, and happy of the States: and that the drink bill had been reduced to about one-fourteenth of its former size. Let us imagine that our drink bill of £126,000,000 for last year had been reduced to one-fourteenth, that is to £,0,000,000, will anyone venture to say that we should be troubled with the problems of pauperism, vagrancy, depression in trade, &c.? Would Mr. Chamberlain need to lament the condition of our population, and bewail the "constantly pressing evidence of ever-growing poverty and unre-Assuredly not; for, to quote the mitting toil?" language of your distinguished senior member. Mr. Bright, "Our country would be so changed, and so changed for the better, that when we looked upon it we should not know it again."

Now, why should a country laying claim to civilization uphold and force upon its people a system that tends to sap the very foundations of civilization? and which entails evils and burdens upon it that block the path of progress and reduce the people to beggary and ruin? True civilization aims at reducing the forces that neutralise progress, and that cause such a terrible waste of force, so that, instead of having to apply its energies to combating self-created evils, the nation shall be able to concentrate them in speeding forward the glorious chariot of human happiness and progress.

It might have been expected that the experience of the last fifty years in this country would have been sufficient to indicate in regard to these matters the clear path of duty; for the experience of the country has proven that in proportion as facilities for intemperance have been extended or curtailed, so has been the increase or decrease of intemperance, with its associated evils. The

Aike results have followed in Scotland, in Ireland, in Wales. The same has occurred in Sweden, in Switzerland, where, notwithstanding its thorough system of universal education, the increase of drink shops has led to an appalling increased drinking, and to the impoverishment and degradation of its people. This has been especially the case in Geneva, the most educated of the Cantons. The same has occurred in Saxony with its educational appliances; the reason given by the "Times" correspondent why there is not more open drunkenness being that the people are so well seasoned. I might say more upon this head, but time will not permit.

How marvellous it is, that in the face of such overwhelming evidence as to the cause of the fearful social evils that afflict the nation, there should be so little disposition shown to deal with the evil. One would think it impossible that the Prime Minister of the nation could say that the country suffered more from intemperance than from the combined evils of war, pestilence, and famine, and yet that year after year should roll over and the Government take no steps to deal with such an appalling evil. Instead of putting the welfare of our country first, and office and party second, are not politicians too often closing their eyes to the country's ills, and calculating the chances of success which are likely to result from allying themselves with this party or the other? and if they can only see success from an alliance with any party, the alliance is too often formed, no matter whether it tends to the nation's elevation or degradation.

The true statesman or politician is a man whose supreme concern is to remedy the nation's ills, or in other words he is a physician whose attention is turned to redressing the political and social ailments of his country. With an

honest politician or statesman, office and power are only secondary; he cares for them only in proportion as they will enable him to be of service in removing the ills and injustices under which his country groans.

In regard to the licensing question I would remark, that when a traffic is proven to be the source of so much evil as the drink traffic is, no Government ought to allow it to be carried on without insisting that society shall not be cursed with the resulting evils; and no statesman ought to be found willing to lift up his voice in advocating its continuance, except under conditions that will ensure to the people protection from the evils produced, and for any statesman to do otherwise, is to assume the responsibility of the evils which result.

A short time ago the Home Secretary declared in the House of Commons that "at the present time Local Option was in existence;" being, he said, vested in the hands of magistrates, who ought to exercise it, and who had full power to exercise it in harmony with the requirements of localities. What is wanted is that neither magistrates nor any other licensing authority, in the exercise of their option, shall be allowed to override the expressed wishes of localities, but that they shall act in harmony therewith, and so give to the poor of our population, by virtue of their personal rights, that power of protection which the rich enjoy by virtue of the rights of property.

I will not in Birmingham, the acknowledged centre of Liberal principles, waste the time of my audience by arguing the justice of such a proposal. To dispute it is to deny the very fundamental principle of Constitutionalism, the right of self-government and of self-protection; and in view of the fact that the drink traffic affects the

well-being of communities immeasurably more than all other evils combined, to refuse them this power of self-protection is to inflict upon them a tyranny measured only by the extent of the curse from which the right of deliverance is denied them.

I will conclude my remarks by repeating an observation. which I have in substance made before:—that a large. proportion of the social questions of to-day would have no existence were it not for the demoralization resulting from the liquor traffic. Let this disappear, and the perplexing problems arising from circumstances which disgrace our country and appal the hearts of all thoughtful men would disappear also; and further, the removal of this evil would lead to the bringing to bear upon all other questions the light of a higher intelligence, civilization. and virtue; and would introduce an era not only of material prosperity, but of moral and social progress such as this country and the world has never seen, and which would shed its influence over the whole of human kind, and speed on the cause of virtue and human progress: in every land.

WASTE OF FOOD.

THE following Table shows the average amount of grain or other produce destroyed each year during the past ten years in manufacturing the intoxicating liquors which have been consumed in the United Kingdom:

Male on other produce used in browing	BUSHELS.
Malt or other produce used in brewing,	
1,042,026,051 gallons of beer, reckoning	
two bushels of grain to one barrel of	
beer,	57,890,336
Corn or other produce used in distilling	
29,176,630 gallons of British Spirits,	
reckoning 8 bushels to make 19 gallons,	12,284,897
Produce Destroyed to make 10,026,073 gals.	
of Foreign Spirits,	4,221,504
Produce Destroyed to make 16,532,495 gals.	
of Wine, reckoning the alcoholic strength	
to be half that of spirits,	3,480,525
Land taken up in the growth Hops, 67,621	
acres, reckoning the land to grow 40	
	2,704,840
Produce Destroyed in making 16,750,000	
British Wines, Cider, &c., reckoning the	
alcoholic strength same as beer,	930,555
`	81,512,657
	,5,-57

A bushel of malt is equal to a bushel of barley, which weighs 53th, and will give 40th of flour, which will make 60th of bread, or 15 4th loaves per bushel, making a

WASTE OF FOOD.

grand total of grain or produce destroyed exceeding £,200,000,000 4th loaves, or over 170 loaves per annum for every family in the United Kingdom.

If these loaves were used as paving stones they would pave a road, 10 yards wide, upwards of 2000 miles long.

If the loaves had to be baked in one shop, and 500 of them were baked each hour for 10 hours per day, and for six days per week, it would take the baker over 750 years to bake them.

If this grain were taken and thrown into the sea we should be horrified; but it would be a great mercy thus to destroy it rather than make it into strong drink, for the waste of the food would be the whole of the evil. As it is, we destroy it by converting it into a maddening liquor which ruins and destroys the people.

It were bad enough to destroy the grain, but it is infinitely worse to destroy the grain and ruin the people as well.

HOW WE SPEND OUR MONEY.

TABLE SHOWING THE MONEY SPENT YEARLY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM UPON VARIOUS ITEMS OF DOMESTIC EXPENDITURE.

Bread, - \pm ,70,000,000 | Farm Rents, \pm ,60,000,000 Butter & Cheese, 35,000,000 Milk, - - - 30,000,000 Sugar, - - - 25,000,000 Tea, Coffee, and

House Rents. 70,000,000 Woollen Goods, 46,000,000 Cotton Goods, 14,000,000 Linen Goods, - 6,000,000

Cocoa, - - 20,000,000

Average yearly expenditure upon Intoxicating Liquors, ten years ending 1880, $f_{13}6,000,000$.

From the above figures it will be seen:

1st. That the money spent upon intoxicating liquors is nearly twice as great as the total amount paid for BREAD.

and. That we pay nearly four times as much for intoxicating liquors as we pay for BUTTER and CHEESE.

3rd. That we spend four-and-a-half times as much upon drink as we do upon MILK.

4th. That we spend more than five times as much upon drink as we do upon sugar, and nearly seven times as much as all our expenditure upon TEA, COFFEE, and COCOA.

5th. That we spend more upon drink than the RENT ROLL of all the FARMS and all the Houses in the United Kingdom.

6th. That we spend about twice as much upon drink. as our total expenditure upon woollen, cotton, and LINEN.

7th. Beside the enormous expenditure upon drink, we have to pay poor and police rates, costs of insanity, crime, vagrancy, accidents, disease, loss of labour, premature death, &c., giving at the very least another $f_{100,000,000}$ and making a total loss to the nation of more than \pm ,200,000,000 yearly.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION.

From time to time during several years past, the columns of the "Times" and other papers have been open to the discussion of questions affecting the social condition of the population of our country. These discussions have done much to create the interest which now exists in regard to social questions, and to bring the public mind to the preparedness for social legislation which was referred to by Mr. Goschen at Edinburgh on Friday last, and which, as he remarked, would have been impossible a few years ago.

Statistics illustrating the demoralization of large masses of our population which at various times during these discussions have been laid before the public, have appeared so appalling as to be deemed well-nigh incredible; and though no one has ventured to challenge the figures given, yet their publication has sometimes been spoken of as if they were a libel upon the fair fame of the nation. Facts, however, have recently appeared in the current press of the country, and more fully in Mr. Peek's book, entitled "Social Wreckage," and in the pamphlet lately published, entitled "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London," which reveal an amount of degradation proving that the statistics which have been given.

indicate but a fraction of the vice, misery, and demoralization which exist in the land.

The speech of Mr. Goschen to which I have referred is a cheering sign of the times, for it marks the breaking away of thoughtful minds from the old doctrine of *laissez-faire*, a doctrine which has done much to land the nation in its present disastrous condition socially, for it taught that the forces of evil were not to be interfered with by Government, except when the perpetrators of the evil became legally criminal.

It is a matter for satisfaction that in regard to thispernicious doctrine the nation is being loosed from its moorings. But the situation is not free from danger: very much depends upon the direction in which we drift. The meeting of the International Trades Union Congress recently held in Paris represents one element of danger: for if our workmen imbibe the notions to which some of the delegates attending that congress gave utterance, and begin to look to the Government to rescue them from their misery, to find them work, regulate their wages, provide them with cottages, &c., it can only lead tomischief; for it will weaken the spirit of industry and self-reliance which is so essential to prosperity; and inaddition to this, it will create dissatisfaction with the government, for no government can possibly satisfy expectations which will thus be raised.

The question as to how far it lies within the sphere of government to interfere with the social concerns of the nation, is one that has given rise to much diversity of opinion; and yet the matter is one which is as clearly subject to rule and law as are other matters of life. What is a rightly constituted government, but the agent of society acting on its behalf so as to secure the general

good, which all admit to be the supreme law. Offences between one man and another are promptly dealt with; and why should not offences between individual men and society be as readily dealt with? If wrong that is committed against one individual ought to be dealt with, surely wrongs which affect a multitude of individuals ought much more to be prevented.

The consideration of legislative questions affecting the social condition of society has been much hindered by the misconceptions which have existed in the popular mind, and which leaders of thought have sometimes encouraged. For instance, such legislation has been spoken of as parental legislation; or may be, the sympathy for liberty which exists in the breast of every Briton has been appealed to, and social legislation has been styled an interference with liberty. In this way dust has been thrown in the eyes of the people, and prejudice evoked, and so, old abuses and wrongs have for the time being been able to carry the day.

In his address at Edinburgh Mr. Goschen put the fallacy regarding parental legislation in its true light. He pointed out that the authority of Government in dealing with social abuses is not a parental one, treating its subjects as if they were children, but that Government is "the agent," nay "the servant of the people's will;" or in other words, it is the representative and protector of society, acting on behalf of its constituency, and in this capacity carrying out the people's will, and so ensuring to its people their collective as well as their individual rights.

The cry of interference with liberty has often been used to impede the labours of social reformers. True liberty can never be at variance with real progress and

reform, or adverse to the common good. Speaking in general terms, liberty may be defined to be, freedom for a person to do as he desires. But it will be clear that this freedom of action must necessarily be bounded by the influence which such actions may have upon others. In society there is a community of right, and those who plead the rights of individuals to do as they like, irrespective of what may be the effect of their action upon others, entirely overlook one side of the question. For those who suffer from wrong-doing possess rights equally with those who do the wrong.

People often thus abuse the word liberty, and make it a blind for wrong-doing. True liberty can only be recognised as having an application to deeds such as individuals may legitimately claim the right to perform, and to interfere with which would be to interfere with such legitimate rights. But to inferfere with actions when the actions involve injury to others is not to interfere with what is legitimate, but with what is wrong. In such cases the liberty plea is therefore wholly on the other side, for liberty itself would be outraged if actions that injure others were not interfered with, inasmuch as the wrong which is involved in their perpetration is a trespass upon the rights and liberties of those who suffer thereby.

In his essay on Liberty, Mr. Mill asks, "Where does the authority of society begin? How much of human life should be assigned to individuality, and how much to society?" The answer he gives is, "Each will receive its proper share if each has that which more particularly concerns it; to individuality should belong the part of life in which it is chiefly the individual that is interested; to society the part which chiefly interests society."

The question arises, when individual action affects the

well-being of society, to what extent ought Government or society to interfere with such action? The answer-clearly is, to the extent needed to ensure protection from that which entails evil upon society; if not, then to the extent by which the remedy falls short of securing protection from the evil, to that extent injustice is done, and the rights and liberties of those who are injured are sacrificed to the action of those who commit the injury.

The claims which individuals have upon Government are, not that they shall receive help from it, but that they shall have full facility given them to enable them to help themselves; that they shall have every possible opportunity afforded to develope and apply their industry and talents; and further, that no unnecessary or unequal burdens or taxes shall be imposed upon them. By making its regulation upon the basis here indicated Government will supply to all a motive for industry, inasmuch as each will know that he will receive the reward of his own labour; and that the degree of the reward will depend upon the extent to which he himself exerts his energies.

On the other hand, society may justly claim from individuals that their acts shall be of a character that shall not be detrimental to the commonweal; and whenever this is not the case, it becomes not only the right, but the duty of the legislature to step in and secure to society the protection which is its due. In doing this it in no way interferes with liberty, but with wrong-doing. Indeed its action under such circumstances must contribute to the extension of liberty; for when a community suffers from the wrong doing of others, to that extent its rights and liberties are infringed, and any protection or deliverance from such wrong-doing

is to that extent an extension and not a curtailment of liberty.

These fundamental principles are already largely recognised and acted upon in the various social arrangements of society, and when acted upon the result is to promote the general good. For example: a manufacturer is compelled to arrange his machinery, so as, as far as possible, to avert danger from, or lessen danger to his work-people. He must also keep his mill clean, whitewash, paint, &c., in order to prevent its being hurtful to health. In a school, the like care must be taken, and further, the school must contain sufficient breathing space to prevent injury to the health of the scholars from foul air. Again, a person is not allowed to cause, or to permit a nuisance upon his property, and if he wishes to keep a pig, or to have a slaughter-house, to establish a chemical or other manufactory, he must do it in such a manner that it shall not prove a nuisance or be detrimental to society. Innumerable other examples might be given to the same purport.

These interferences with human actions with a view tothe protection of society are sometimes thoughtlessly
spoken of as being interferences with individual right and
liberty; but this cannot be so, for, as I have previously
remarked, they are interferences with wrong, and instead
of being abridgements of liberty are extensions of it.
Take as an illustration the case of the mill, where I will
suppose there are 300 hands employed. If the owner be
allowed to neglect the sanitary arrangements of the mill,
then it becomes disagreeable and unhealthy; and so the
happiness and health of 300 persons are interfered with,
and, indirectly, so also is the health of the people outside.
Or, take the case of the pig-stye. It may interfere with

the convenience or pocket of the owner to compel himto remove it, but to allow it to remain will interfere with the comfort and maybe with the health of 50 or 100 of the surrounding population. The owner of the mill or of the pig-stye may designate such legislation aninterference with liberty, but the verdict of truth will be that it is an interference with wrong, and the securing of greater safety and freedom to the hundreds who, but for it, would be exposed to influences that would diminish their comforts and possibly prove a source of danger to their health.

These principles have very extensively been applied in relation to certain departments of the government of the country, mainly so in relation to sanitary matters, and it may be said that the result has been one of universal good. But in regard to some of the questions which most vitally affect the well-being of the community the laissez-faire principle of legislation has been dominant. and the forces of evil have been let alone to work out To say, however, that the forces of their own ends. evil have merely been let alone, is but to state part of the truth; for so far as the liquor traffic is concerned these forces have been largely patronised and developed; and thus, instead of protecting society from evil, government, by legalising a wholesale machinery of seductive influences has promoted evil, and everywhere there hasbeen spread a net-work of temptation, luring the people from habits of sobriety, industry, and virtue, into habitsof dissipation and vice, and landing large masses of our population in misery, beggary, and hopeless ruin. is sad to think that despite the enormous efforts for the elevation of the people which during the past forty years have been put forth, the Government statistics which

indicate the nation's social and moral condition prove, that instead of progress, there has been declension, and a bitter cry for deliverance comes not only from outcast London, but from perishing outcasts scattered over the length and breadth of the entire country.

And how is this cry for deliverance to be met? It can only be met by applying to the causes producing these evils the same principles of legislation that are applied to other causes of evil. Many of the evils with which legislation deals affect only the health, but the liquor traffic not only injures the health and curtails the lives of the people. but it wastes the nation's resources, multiplies its burdens, paralyses its industries, corrupts its morals, decimates its homes, and to such an extent so degrades its social life as to entail upon the nation an enormous population sunk in constant poverty and chronic social demoralisation, many of whom are so utterly degraded as to be recognised as the "lapsed masses," as outcasts who are crying for deliverance. And yet, incredible though it may seem, the machinery which has produced these evils has not merely been let alone: it has been licensed, extended, and in a multitude of ways developed, though all experience has shown that in proportion as its ramifications have been extended so has been the increase of the sad holocaust of evils which have followed in its train.

The question will here force itself upon the mind of every' thoughtful person, on what principle does the liquor traffic claim exemption from subjection to those general laws of justice, which in the legislation of the country have been applied with such beneficial results in other matters?

There can only be two grounds upon which this right of exemption can be claimed. Either—

1st. That to interfere with the traffic would be to interfere with the rights and liberties of the publicans and others engaged in the trade; or

and. That it would be an interference with the rights and liberties of those who wish to purchase intoxicating liquors.

Touching the first of these pleas I would remark, that there are two classes of rights, moral rights and legal rights. The former are common to all; the latter are created by law with the view of promoting the interests of the community. If, therefore, the publican possess a moral right to sell liquor, so does every citizen of the state. If his right is the outcome of a privilege created and granted to him by law enacted to restrain an evil, then the whole case is granted; for the restraint may be and ought to be exercised to the extent needed to remedy the evil.

It may possibly be argued that such restraint would involve the closing of the liquor shops; and that to do this would be an interference with the rights and liberties of those who are in the habit of using intoxicating liquors, inasmuch as they would thereby be prevented from purchasing that which they desire to have, and which they regard either as a convenience or a good.

If the drink shops were closed, it would doubtless be an inconvenience, real or supposed, to those who wished to purchase intoxicating liquor, and it would necessitateone of two things, viz.:

1st. That those who wished to have intoxicating liquors should provide them in some other way; or

2nd. That if they needed to drink they should substitute some other drink. Forty or fifty years ago, when the writer was a youth, nearly everybody believed not only that intoxicating liquors were useful, but that they were essential to health; yet in the village where he then resided the owner of the village would not permit a public-house. The owner was not a teetotaler, nor were there more than two or three of the inhabitants of the village who were teetotalers; many of them regularly drank their beer, but those who wished to have beer, brewed it at home for themselves.

The position was this: the owner of the village and many of the inhabitants believed intoxicating liquors not merely to be useful, but in many cases to be essential to health; nevertheless, they saw that the public-house was a curse, producing intemperance with all its train of lamentable evils, and therefore they said, we cannot do without the drink, but we must get it in a way that will not entail upon our village the sad evils which the presence of a liquor shop would involve.

Now if intoxicating liquors could be shown to be as useful as milk, the ground taken by these villagers forty years ago would still be the only logical and just ground upon which society ought to act, for, allowing there to be good in the use of intoxicating liquor, it would be contrary to reason that the getting this good should be associated with a system that involves such disastrous evils. Those who wished to have drink ought clearly to get it in a way that would not entail so many evils upon the community as are everywhere found to result from the presence of the liquor traffic.

It will be evident, therefore, that the argument is now placed upon a very different footing from what it was forty years ago. At that period there was a very universal belief not only in the utility, but even in the necessity for

intoxicating liquors; such beliefs, however, are now well nigh extinct, science having demonstrated the fact that, instead of being useful, alcoholic liquors are hurtful; and it is not therefore a question which is now open for discussion as to whether there be sufficient good resulting from the use of drink as will atone for the evils and so justify the toleration of the traffic; for the good is not to be found, whilst the evils if possible become more and more appalling. The case for legislative interference with the liquor traffic is therefore overwhelming.

It is an easy matter for a person to claim that public houses ought to be licensed so that he can conveniently purchase his drink, and it may seem plausible for him to contend, that to deprive him of his privilege would be an interference with his liberty; but the man who argues thus, looks only at one side of the question. to have or to do a thing all depends upon the consequen-·ces that may result from it. The man demands the public-house as a right, but in formulating his demand he has regard only to his own supposed convenience. What about the evils that result from the public house? Have those who suffer from these evils no rights? account to be taken of the drunkenness, the rows and brawls, the pauperism, crime, the taxes and burdens, the diseases and deaths resulting from the liquor-traffic? What of all the social ruin and wreckage that follows? What of the bitter cry of the outcasts, who, surrounded as they are by the temptations of the liquor traffic, see no hope of deliverance? The evils of the liquor traffic are too terrible for description, yet their magnitude is but the measure of the injustice and wrong done to those upon whom the evils fall, and it is the measure of the righteousness of the demand for protection therefrom.

It may be asked, is there not a danger of legislation overstepping its proper bounds? Such a thing cannot be, if the principles laid down in this argument are recognised. For, as has been shown whenever an action or a matter is of such a character as to entail evil upon the community, the entailment of the evil is a justification for the adoption of such measures as may be needed to ensure protection therefrom. If there should be an amount of resulting good as well as evil, it will then rest with society to determine whether for the sake of the good which may result they will endure the accompanying evil.

As Mr. Goschen pointed out at Edinburgh, the deplorable evils under which the nation groans have compelled a review of the position in regard to laissez-faire, or leaving The altered circumstances involve action. matters alone. Speaking generally, each case may have to be judged upon its own merits: but as I have already pointed out. matters affecting social legislation are as clearly subject to law as other matters are. In this paper I-have endeavoured to set forth the principles upon which such legislation ought to be based; and there can be no questionbut that if our future legislation be carried out upon the-' lines indicated, the social problems which now so greatly perplex and sadden all patriotic hearts will soon find an. effective solution.

WILLIAM HOYLE.

NOVEMBER 13th, 1883.



INDEX.

Agencies at Work calculated to less	sen Intemp	erance,	106	PAGES. and 119
Alcoholic Liquors, Injurious, -	•	•	•	- 50
Beer Bill, Influence of,	•	•	- 2, 4,	and 105
Beer Bills, are Under Estimated,	-		- 41	, and 42
Beer and British Spirits, Relative C	onsumptio	n of, in l	England	i,
Ireland, and Scotland, -	•	•	•	- 23
Reer, Excise Standard of as to Stre	ngth,	-	- 37	7 and 41
Benefit Societies, Value of, -	•			- 109
"Birmingham Daily Post," Reply	to		-	- 149
Erroneous Views as to the Causes of	f Drinking	. &c.,	25, 26	and 27
Brewers, Profits made by them on I	Drawbacks		•	- 37
Brewers, Their Opposition to Mr.			sal as t	ю .
Standard of Strength in Beer,	-			and 41
British Spirits, Increased Consum;	otion of, pr	ior to 18		- 8
British Spirits, Consumption of, af		-		. 4
Budgets, Their Growth the Price of		on's De	noraliz	B-
tion	•	-		and 51
•				
Chamberlain, Mr., on the Unequal	Distributi	on of W	ealth,	- 171
Cobden, Mr., his Disappointmen	it at the	Want	of Rea	al
Progress,	-	-	•	. 162
Colonies, Trade of, for Three Yes	ars ending	1852 ar	d Thre	e e
Years ending 1882,	•	-	•	- 140
Co-operative Movement, Value of,	-	•	•	- 109
Cotton Trade for Eight Months en	ding Augu	st 1881-	1882,	- 141
Cotton Trade, Total Export of, for	Three Ye	ars end	ing 1859	? ,
1879, and 1882, -		-	•	- 141
Cotton Trade, Total Value of, -	•	•	-	- 101
Cotton Trade, Injured by Drink E	xpenditure		- 102	and 103
Crime, Cause of Apparent Decreas	e of, -	•		- 152
Crime, Change in Laws relating to		- 11	6, 117,	and 118
Crimes of Demoralization, Table S		rease of	•	- 154

Crimes, Number of, Reported, a	ю сошр	area w	Appre	mensio	48	
13 Years ending 1881,		•	•	•		48
Crime, Pauperism, and Lunacy	, Tables	of,	-	- 130	and	131
Crime, Table showing Conviction	ons of, f	or 1860	and 18	δ0,	•	46
,	•			•		
Decreased Consumption of Into	xicating	Liquo	rs after	1876 n	ot	
wholly due to Bad Trade,		•	-	-		147
Depression in Trade, its Cause,	-	-	-	-	-	166
Drawback, Amount of, allowed	upon E	xported	Malt.		-	36
Drink Bill Calculations not Exa	ggeratio	ons,	•	-	•	73
Drink Bill for Seven Years end	ing 1876	3 ,		•		13
Drink Bill, 1876,	-	•		-	•	12
Drink Bill, 1877,	-	-	• .	•	•	16
Drink Bill, 1878,	•	-	-			18
Drink Bill, 1879, - • -	-	-	-	-	-	21
Drink Bill, 1880,	•		-		-	34
Drink Bill, 1881,	•	-	-	•		40
Drink Bill, 1882,	•		-	-	-	53
Drink Consumption per head, F	allacies	regardi	ng,	-	•	66
Drink Expenditure, Comparison				and,	-	38
Drink Expenditure, Comparison	of, for	Seven	Years	endir	g	
1860, with Seven Years end			-			74
Drink Expenditure, Comparison	of, for	Seven	Years	endin	g	
1863, and Seven Years endir	ng 1878,		•	-	•	19
Drink Expenditure Hurtful to T	rade, ar	id leadi	ng to I	Poverty	r ,	99
Drink Expenditure, Illustration	s showi	ng its V	Wastefr	ul Cha	-	
acter,				•	-	76
Drink Expenditure, Increase of,	as Com	pared t	o Popu	lation,		19
Drink Expenditure, Compared,	from 18	20 to 18	82,	•	-	9
Drink Expenditure, Loss throug				•	-]	113
Drink Expenditure and Loss, for	r Ten Y	ears en	ding 18	81,	-	42
Drink Expenditure, Particulars	of, fo	or Six	Years	endin	g	
1881,				- 54	and	55-
Drink Expenditure, Shown to be	e Waste	, -	,	- '	70 to	72
Drink Loss, Aggregate Total of,	for 1876	3, -		-	•	13
Drink Loss for 50 Years, Amoun	it it wou	ıld give	each l	Person,		137
Drink-Money, if Spent on Goods	, would	Emplo	y more	Person	18,	68-
Drink-Shops, Increase of, leads t						175
Drinking, Extension of Facilities				vernm	ent,	51
Drinking, Decrease of, -	• •				22 to	24
Drink Trade, Investment in, Co	mpared	with :	Investi	nent i	1	
Cotton Trade, -				•	-	77

Drink Trade, Investment in, Influence	e∙of, up	on Soci	ety,	:7	to 79
Drink Waste, a Block to Good Trade,	•	-	•	٠.	109
Drunkenness and Crime in 1876,	-	•	- '	-	123
Drunkenness and Crime, Table Showi	ng.	-	-	-	124
Drunkenness and Crime, Increase of,	•	-	•	-	124
Drunkenness Greater now than Fifty	Years s	go.	-		107
Duties upon Liquors, their Influence of			n,	- 3	3 to 6
Economic Phenomenon, Remarkable,		-		_	165
Economic Progress, the Laws relating	o there	to but	Partia	llv	
recognised		-		,	96
Economic Law must be Obeyed, or Ev	il will	Result	_		87
"Economist," Reply to, on Increase				A33 -	•
perism					146
Education Act, Difficulty of its E	nforcem	ent c	hapre	by	
Drunkenness,		-	-	-	153
Education, Increase in Attendance at	Sahaala	and in	Grant	a -	153
Evils of Intemperance, Personal Exper				٥,	128
Excess in Alcoholic Liquors Determin				8.5	120
well as Economic Laws, -	•	-	-	- ,	148
Expenditure per Head on Drink and C	Cotton (doods,	•	•	143
Exports, Total for Ten Years ending	1830	and Te	n Yea	irs	
ending 1879,	•	•	•	•	8
Food, Imports of, in 1880,		•	•		89
Food, &c., relatively Cheaper in 1880 t	han Fo	rty Ye	ars ago	, -	94
Food, Wasted in Manufacturing Intox	icating	Liquor	18,	-	178
Free Trade, Wealth derived from it ha				on,	148
Fallacies as to Sunday-Closing in Scot	land, &	C.,	. (i3 ar	d 64
Fallacies of Computations as to Drinki	ing,	-	•	-	62
Giffen's, Mr., Estimate of Wealth of U	nited E	Cingdon	a.		136
Gladstone, Right Hon. W. E., on Dut	v of Go	vernme	nt.	•	110
Gladstone, Right Hon. W. E., Testimo				ils	
of Intemperance,	•	•	•		61
Goschen, Mr., on Laissez-faire, -	-			-	192
Government, Claims of Individuals upo	on.		-		185
Government, Claims of, upon Individu				-	185
Government, Culpability of.			-	-	175
Government, the Duty of.			-	-	163
Grocers' Licenses, Influence upon Cons	umptio	n.			6
		-			_

INDEX.

Goschen, Mr., on the Position	of Gov	vernmen	it in S	ocial ${f L}$	egis-	
lation,	•	•	•	-	•	183
Government are Partners in L	iquor '	Traffic,	•	•	•	74
Home Trade, How injured by	Drink	ing,	-			67
Home Trade, its Importance,	-	-	•	•	88	to 91
Intemperance, Causes which ha	ave led	l to Inc	rease o	of, -	•	7
International Trades Union Co	ngress	, Error	of,	• .	-	182
Intoxicating Liquors, Aggrega	ate Di	rect and	Indi	rect Co	st of	
each Ten Years from 1829	to 187	9, -	-	- 1	.35 and	1 136
Intoxicating Liquors, amount	Spent	each De	cade f	rom 182	20, 5	to 7
Intoxicating Liquors, Consum	ption	of, for	each	Ten Y	ears	
from 1829 to 1879,	•	-	-	•	•	135
Intoxicating Liquors, Consump	otion o	f, in En	gland	and W	ales	
for 1852, 1876, and 1882,	-	•	•		-	147
Intoxicating Liquors, if their U	Jse was	Benefic	ial, sh	ould no	t be	-
allowed to Entail Evil.	-	-	-	•		190
Intoxicating Liquors, Table sl	howing	Total	Cost o	f. and	also	
Cost per Head,	•	•	. •	•	-	9
Labour, Amount of, Employed	d in th	e Manu	factur	e of Sp	irits,	68
Labouring Classes, Causes of the	heir P	overty,	-	•	93 an	ıd 94
Labour, Loss of, Caused by Dr	inking	, -	•	-	•	105
Labour, the Source of Wealth,	•	-	-	-	•	170
Laissez-faire, Pernicious Influer	nce of	the Doc	trine,	•	•	182
Land, Rent of, in Great Britai	n and	Ireland,	, - `	-	-	38
Land, Yield of, per Acre,	•	•	-	•	88 an	d 89
Land, its Capabilities of Produ	iction,	•	-	-	•	89
Laws, Change in, Influence of,	upon (riminal	Retu	rns, 1	17 and	118
Law, its Influence upon a Nati	ion.	-	-	•	2 ar	nd 31
Legislation, Change of Opinion		rding, i	n Parl	iament,		3
Legislation, Errors in,		•	-		59 an d	164
Legislation, when on Right Pri	inciple	s, canno	t be (Overdo	ne.	192
Legislation, when Right, tends			-		·.	186
Legislative Effort, Need for,	-	•	-	•	•	11
Legislature, Duty of, -		-		-		127
Legislative Restrictions produc	e Deci	ease of	Inten	peranc	е	56
Liberty, Misuse of the Word,	•	•			٠,	183
Licenses, Increase of, -	•			•	-	32
Licenses, Number of Private L	icense	s paid f	or Bre	wing F	Beer	
in 1001 00		- p				E A

Police, Alleged increased Efficiency of, not borne out by facts,

INDEX.

Poor Relief, Amount of, paid, 1860 and 1880,	-	-	-	47
Poor and Police Rates, 1880,	_		-	43
Poor and Police Rates, Increase of, -	-	-	-	150
Potter, Mr. G., his Opinion of the Drink Evil	l .	-	-	112
Potter, Mr. G., on the Lot of the Labouring		-	-	92
Poverty and Misery, True cause of, -			42, and	143
Principles of Government, Fundamental,			185 and	
Problems to Solve, Paper read at Birmingham	ı.	-		159
Production, Increased power of, -			96 and	104
Productive and Non-productive Labour illustr	ated.		•	96
Productive Power, the Measure of Man's Pos			orts,	165
Progress, Social and Moral Influences at work	cond	ucing t	hereto,	119
Public Houses, Increase of, leads to increased				60
		O,		
Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Children	comn	nitted (hereto,	155
Remedy for Intemperance and Demoralization			76, and	
Revenue, from Drink, A wasteful Method of		ng,	•	74
Rights, Individual, must be in Harmony with			n Good,	82
			-	
Social Evils and the Duty of Government,	-	-	-	175
Social Legislation, Chapter upon, -	-	•	•	181
Spirits, Decreased Consumption of, in Scotla	nd be	tween	1851	
and 1881,	•	-	•	58
Spirits, Increased Consumption of, in Englar	d be	tween	1851	
and 1881,	-	-	-	58
Statesmanship, its Obligations,	•	-	•	. 32
Statesmen, Errors of, in Legislation, -	•	-	-	156
Statesmanship, True	-	-	-	175
Sunday-Closing, Influence of, in Scotland,	•	-	6 an	d 57
Switzerland, Increase of Intemperance in,	-	-	56 an	d 57
Taxation, Retards the Growth of Wealth and	Inju	res W	ages,	111
Tea, Coffee, and Cocoa, Increased Consumpti	on of		22 an	d 20
Tea, Consumption of, Ten Years ending 1829	and I	1879.		11
Tea, &c., Increased Consumption of, from 183			106 and	1 107
Temperance, Forces at work in Support of,	-			10
Temperance Movement, Retrospect of, -	-	•	11	to 11
Temperance Reformers, Difficulties of, -	•		٠.	1
Trade and Cost of Pauperism compared for 1	352 aı	nd 188	2, -	149
"Times" Leader, Comments upon as to Ren				
perance		-		to 33

RADCLIFFE

INDE	r,				199
Trade, Depression in, Causes of,	•	•		86 ar	d 87
Trade, Free, Value of,	-	-	-	84 an	ıd 85
Trade of the United Kingdom, Incre	ase of, i	from 18	79 to	1882,	140
Trade of the United Kingdom, Thre	e Years	endin	g 185	2 and	
Three Years ending 1882, -	-	-	•	•	140
Trade, Aggregate, of the World,	•	•	. •	•	141
Vagrants, Number of, for Three Yes	rs endi	ng 1861	and I	1880,	43-
Wages, Good, how Secured, -		100,	103, 1	104, and	1113
Wages, Influence of, upon Trade,	-	-	•	-	95.
Wealth, Cannot be divided till Produ	uced,		-	111 and	1112
Wealth, Causes of Unequal Distribu	tion of,	-		-	172
Wealth got by increased Trade, if ap	plied to	Intem	perar	ice, a	
Source of Evil,	•	•	٠.	•	52
Wealth, Increase of, from 1840 to 18	80,	-	•	-	94
Wealth, not a Complete Guage of Pr	ogress,	-	-		95
Wealth, Object of, and Mischief Cau	sed by.	when l	Misap	plied.	137
Wealth, Total aggregate amount of, i	in Unite	d King	gdom,	• :	136
Wealth, Whatever wastes it must inj	jure Tra	de and	Wag	es, -	111
Wheat, Average Price of, compared			_		122
Workhouses Deaths in			_		159





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